

ARCHAEOLOGIA :

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

Emery Walker

ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
RELATING TO
ANTIQUITY,
PUBLISHED BY THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON,
VOLUME LX.



LONDON :
PRINTED BY J. B. NICHOLS AND SONS, PARLIAMENT MANSIONS, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER.
AND SOLD BY THE SOCIETY'S AGENT, BERNARD QUARITCH, 11, GRAFTON STREET.

M.DCCCXVII.

ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
RELATING TO
ANTIQUITY,
PUBLISHED BY THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON,
SECOND SERIES. VOLUME X.



LONDON:
PRINTED BY J. B. NICHOLS AND SONS, PARLIAMENT MANSIONS, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER.
AND SOLD BY THE SOCIETY'S AGENT, BERNARD QUARITCH, 11, GRAFTON STREET.

M.DCCCXVII.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I.— <i>A Second Silver Treasure from Cyprus. By ORMONDE M. DALTON, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.</i> - - - - -	1—24
II.— <i>On the Brass of Sir Hugh Hastings in Elsing Church, Norfolk. By ALBERT HARTSHORNE, Esq., F.S.A.; with a Note by W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A.</i> - - - - -	25—42
III.— <i>On Two Marble Sculptures and a Mithraic Relief of the Roman Period found in London. By F. HAVERFIELD, Esq., M.A., Hon. LL.D., F.S.A.</i> - - - - -	43—48
IV.— <i>Excavations in an Anglo-Saxon Burial Ground at Mitcham, Surrey. By HAROLD F. BIDDER, Esq.; with Notes on Crania and Bones found there, by W. L. H. DUCKWORTH, Esq., M.D., Sc.D.</i> - - -	49—68
V.— <i>Pre-Roman Bronze Votive Offerings from Despeñaperros, in the Sierra Morena, Spain. By HORACE SANDARS, Esq., F.S.A.</i> - - -	69—92
VI.— <i>The Loss of King John's Baggage Train in the Wellstream in October, 1216. By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A., Assistant Secretary</i>	93—110
VII.— <i>Excavations at Caerwent, Monmouthshire, on the site of the Romano-British City of Venta Silurum, in the year 1905. By T. ASHBY, Jun., Esq., D.Litt., F.S.A.</i> - - - - -	111—130
VIII.— <i>The Palace of Westminster in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries. By W. R. LETHABY, Esq., F.S.A.</i> - - - - -	131—148
IX.— <i>Excavations on the site of the Roman city at Silchester, Hants, in 1905. By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A.</i> - - -	149—168
X.— <i>Recent Discoveries in connexion with Roman London. By PHILIP NORMAN, Esq., Treasurer, and FRANCIS W. READER, Esq.</i> - - -	169—250
XI.— <i>Early Iron Age Burials in Yorkshire. By the Rev. WILLIAM GREENWELL, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.</i> - - - - -	251—324

	PAGE
XII.— <i>An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery in Ipswich.</i> By NINA FRANCES LAYARD, F.L.S. - - - - -	325—352
XIII.— <i>Clerical Life in the Fifteenth Century, as illustrated by Proceedings of the Court of Chancery.</i> By C. TRICE MARTIN, Esq., B.A., F.S.A. - - - - -	353—378
XIV.— <i>Notes on Sculptures in Lincoln Minster: The Judgment Porch and the Angel Choir.</i> By W. R. LETHABY, Esq., F.S.A. - -	379—390
XV.— <i>The Treasury of God and the Birthright of the Poor; or Facts illustrating the origin of "Parsons" and "Vicars" in England.</i> By REV. OSWALD J. REICHEL, M.A., B.C.L., F.S.A. - -	391—410
XVI.— <i>On the great Almery for relics of late in the Abbey Church of Selby, with notes on some other receptacles for relics.</i> By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A. - - - - -	411—422
XVII.— <i>On a Set of Table-knives in the British Museum made for John the Intrepid, Duke of Burgundy.</i> By O. M. DALTON, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. - - - - -	423—430
XVIII.— <i>Excavations on the site of the Roman City at Silchester, Hants, in 1906.</i> By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A. - - -	431—450
XIX.— <i>Excavations at Caerwent, Monmouthshire, on the site of the Romano-British City of Venta Silurum, in the year 1906.</i> By T. ASHBY, Esq., D.Litt., F.S.A. - - - - -	451—464
XX.— <i>The Episcopal Ornaments of William of Wykeham and William of Waynffleet, sometime Bishops of Winchester, and of certain Bishops of St. Davids.</i> By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A. - -	465—492
XXI.— <i>The Cistercian Abbey of Stanley, Wiltshire.</i> By HAROLD BRAKSPEAR, Esq., F.S.A. - - - - -	493—516
XXII.— <i>On the Funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England, with special reference to those in the Abbey Church of Westminster.</i> By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A. With a note on the Westminster tradition of identification. By the Rev. JOSEPH ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Westminster - - - - -	517—570
XXIII.— <i>Photographs of Stonehenge, as seen from a War Balloon.</i> Com- municated by COLONEL J. E. CAPPER, R.E. - - - - -	571

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PLATE		PAGE
I.	Byzantine silver dishes in Cyprus - - - facing	2
II.	Byzantine silver dish in Cyprus. The marriage of David facing	3
	Fig. 1. Coin of Theodosius II. - - -	4
	Fig. 2. Silver votive shield of Theodosius at Madrid -	6
	Fig. 3. Silver dish removed from Cyprus - - -	7
	Fig. 4. Two small silver dishes in Cyprus - - -	8
	Fig. 5. David slaying bear. From a MS. in Venice -	9
	Fig. 6. David receiving Samuel's message. From the doors of the church of St. Ambrose at Milan - - -	10
	Fig. 7. Jewellery remaining in Cyprus - - -	11
	Fig. 8. Impressions of stamps on silver dish No. 1 (Plate I.)	14
	Figs. 9—15. Stamps on silver plates - - -	14, 15
	Fig. 16. The anointing of David. (From the same MS. as Fig. 5) - - - - -	20
	Fig. 17. Bronze objects from Kyrenia - - -	24
III.	Brass of Sir Hugh Hastings (<i>ob.</i> 1347) in Elsing Church, Norfolk - - - - - facing	25
	Shield of arms of Sir Hugh Hastings from his brass -	29
IV.	St. George and Angels bearing up the Soul. From the Hastings Brass - - - - - facing	31
V.	King Edward III. and Henry, Earl of Lancaster. From the Hastings Brass - - - - - facing	32

PLATE	PAGE
VI. Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and Ralph, Lord Stafford. From the Hastings Brass - - facing	33
VII. Roger, Lord Grey of Ruthin, and Almaric, Lord St. Amand. From the Hastings Brass - - - facing	36
VIII. Part of a figure of a River God, in white marble, found in London - - - - - facing	45
IX. White marble statue found in London - - facing	45
X. Stone slab with the Mithraic Sacrifice, found in London facing	46
XI. Plan of Anglo-Saxon Cemetery, Mitcham, Surrey - facing	51
Fig. 1. Site of an Anglo-Saxon burial ground at Mitcham, Surrey - - - - -	50
Figs. 2 and 3. Gilt bronze brooches - - - - -	52
Fig. 4. Tumbler of blue glass - - - - -	53
Fig. 5. Bronze buckle - - - - -	53
Fig. 6. Fittings of a belt - - - - -	54
Fig. 7. Bronze brooch - - - - -	55
Fig. 8. Iron sword or sceptre - - - - -	55
Fig. 9. Portions of a bronze ornament found in Grave 49 -	56
Fig. 10. Earthenware urn - - - - -	57
Fig. 11. Bronze buckle, with piece of material adhering -	57
Fig. 12. Gilt bronze brooch - - - - -	59
Pre-Roman Votive Offerings, Despeñaperros, Spain :	
Fig. 1. Map of Iberia - - - - -	71
Fig. 2. Plan of the Cerro de los Santos - - - - -	73
Fig. 3. Capital of a column from the temple on the Cerro de los Santos - - - - -	73
Fig. 4. Head of the statue of a woman from the Cerro de los Santos - - - - -	77
Fig. 5. Head of the statue of a man from the Cerro de los Santos - - - - -	77
Fig. 6. Two female heads from the Cerro de los Santos -	78
Fig. 7. Three male heads from the Cerro de los Santos -	79
Fig. 8. Statue of a woman from the Cerro de los Santos	80
Fig. 9. Statue of a woman from the Cerro de los Santos -	81

PLATE	PAGE
Fig. 10. Fragment of the statue of a woman from the Cerro de los Santos - - - - -	82
Fig. 11. Bust of a lady found at Elche (the <i>Dame d'Elche</i>)	83
Fig. 12. Bronze images from Southern Spain - - -	84
XII. Pre-Roman Bronze Votive Offerings from Despeñaperros, Spain - - - - - facing	84
XIII. Pre-Roman Bronze Votive Offerings from Despeñaperros, Spain - - - - - facing	86
Figs. 13, 14. Bronze equestrian figures from the Despeña- perros Sanctuary - - - - -	87
Fig. 15. Bronze equestrian figure from the Despeñaperros Sanctuary - - - - -	88
XIV. Pre-Roman Bronze Votive Offerings from Despeñaperros, Spain - - - - - facing	88
Fig. 16. Bronze brooches from Despeñaperros - - -	89
Fig. 17. Iberian bronze statuette - - - - -	90
XV. Pre-Roman Bronze Votive Offerings from Despeñaperros, Spain - - - - - facing	90
XVI. Conjectural map of the country between Lynn and Long Sutton in 1216 - - - - - facing	110
Excavations at Caerwent:	
Fig. 1. South Gate, Caerwent - - - - -	112
Fig. 2. North Gate, Caerwent - - - - -	113
Fig. 3. External view of the South Gate - - - - -	114
Fig. 4. Internal view of the South Gate - - - - -	115
Fig. 5. Sections east and west of the South Gate - - -	116
XVII. Caerwent.—Plan of Houses XII _N , XIII _N , XIV _N , XV _N , and XVI _N - - - - - facing	118
Fig. 6. Inscribed plaster in House No. XII _N - - -	119
XVIII. Caerwent.—Architectural fragments found in 1905 - facing	122
Fig. 7. Stamp found on a brick - - - - -	124
XIX. Caerwent.—Part of a wall painting in House No. XVI _N -	128
Fig. 8. Inscribed plaster from House No. XVI _N - - -	129
Fig. 9. Plan of Caerwent, showing discoveries down to November, 1905 - - - - -	130

PLATE	PAGE
The Palace of Westminster :	
Fig. 1. Bays of the interior of the Norman Hall : Restored	135
Fig. 2. Restoration of South Bay on east side : Exterior -	139
Figs. 3 and 4. Conjectural Restorations of the Exterior of the Great Hall - - - - -	140
XX. Plan of the Palace of Westminster at the end of the Twelfth Century - - - - - facing	142
Fig. 5. Fireplace - - - - -	143
Fig. 6. Detail of jamb of fireplace - - - - -	143
Fig. 7. Doorway - - - - -	143
Fig. 8. Windows at the south end of the Little Hall: Exterior	145
XXI. Silchester.—Plan of <i>Insulæ</i> V. and VI. - - - facing	160
Fig. 1. Capital of a small column found in House No. 1, <i>Insula</i> V. in 1892 - - - - -	151
Fig. 2. Unfinished winged altar found in <i>Insula</i> V. - - -	162
Fig. 3. Front and side views of an unfinished image of a couchant lion found in <i>Insula</i> V. - - - - -	163
Fig. 4. Block plan of the Roman town of Silchester, show- ing portions excavated down to the end of 1905 - - -	168
Recent discoveries in connexion with Roman London :	
Fig. 1. Plan showing portion of shaft in London Wall - - -	171
Fig. 2. Elevation of wall and section of shaft in the Wal- brook Bed, London Wall - - - - -	172
XXII. Sections showing conditions of original Walbrook Bed between 174 and 175	
Fig. 3. Plan showing site of manhole at Bishopsgate - - -	186
Fig. 4. Culvert, Bishopsgate. - - - - -	186
Fig. 5. Plan showing site of City wall at Nos. 58 and 60, Houndsditch - - - - -	188
XXIII. Elevation and section of the Roman wall of London at Nos. 58 and 60, Houndsditch - - - - - facing	189
Fig. 6. Photograph of the Roman wall at Houndsditch - - -	191
Fig. 7. View of the Roman wall at Jewry Street - - - - -	192
Fig. 8. Plan showing position of discoveries under Roman Wall House, Jewry Street, in 1906 - - - - -	194

PLATE	PAGE
Fig. 9. Plan showing position of Roman Wall House, Jewry Street - - - - -	195
Fig. 10. Part of Moorfields, from Braun and Hogenberg's plan - - - - -	197
Fig. 11. Part of Moorfields, from Faithorne's map -	198
Fig. 12. Moorfields district, from Ogilby and Morgan's map	199
Fig. 13. Part of Moorfields and New Broad Street, from Horwood's map - - - - -	200
XXIV. North side of the church of All Hallows, London Wall, showing the vestry: Wall showing plinth of the Roman wall, All Hallows - - - - - facing	201
Fig. 14. Photograph showing site of City Ditch excavated	205
XXV. Plan of excavations in Broad Street and the immediate neighbourhood - - - - - between 206 and 207	
XXVI. General view of remains of wall found to west of All Hallows Church - - - - - facing	208
Fig. 15. Elevation and plan of drain under the Roman wall - - - - -	209
Fig. 16. Section of base of Roman wall east of All Hallows Church - - - - -	211
Fig. 17. Section showing position of Roman ditch -	213
XXVII. Plan and sections of Roman bath discovered in Cannon Street in 1905 - - - - - facing	215
Fig. 18. Roman bath discovered at No. 63, Threadneedle Street in 1895 - - - - -	218
Fig. 19. Plan, with section showing depth, of a Roman bath discovered at No. 63, Threadneedle Street in 1895	219
Fig. 20. Plan of Roman wall found in Knight rider Street in 1905 - - - - -	220
Fig. 21. Plan of Roman walls discovered under No. 50, Cornhill, in 1891 - - - - -	222
Fig. 22. Plan showing Roman walls in the neighbourhood of Gracechurch Street - - - - -	225
Fig. 23. Plan of excavations in Copthall Avenue -	232
Fig. 24. Lead roundel - - - - -	233

PLATE	PAGE
XXVIII. Pottery from the City Ditch, New Broad Street - facing	242
Fig. 25. Examples of slip ware - - - -	242
Fig. 26. Delft jar - - - -	243
Fig. 27. Delft plates - - - -	243
Fig. 28. Sections of Delft plates - - - -	243
Fig. 29. Sections of glazed earthenware basins - -	244
XXIX. Objects from the City Ditch, New Broad Street - facing	243
Fig. 30. Glass bottle - - - -	245
Fig. 31. Pin-polisher - - - -	245
Fig. 32. Patten iron - - - -	245
Fig. 33. Iron implements - - - -	246
Fig. 34. Brass squirt - - - -	246
Early Iron Age Burials in Yorkshire :	
Fig. 1. Cinerary urns, Early Iron Age, and sections -	253
^a Figs. 2 and 3. Bronze armlets from Cowlam, Yorks. -	256
^a Fig. 4. Bronze brooch from Cowlam, Yorks. -	256
Fig. 5. Iron sword in bronze sheath from Grimthorpe, Yorks. - - - -	257
Fig. 6. Bronze fittings of a shield from Grimthorpe, Yorks. - - - -	257
Fig. 7. Bone skewer from Grimthorpe, Yorks. -	257
Fig. 8. Enamelled sword-handle from Thorpe, Yorks. -	257
Fig. 9. Clay vessels found at the Danes Graves -	263
^b Fig. 10. Bronze brooch, Dux, Bohemia - -	266
^b Fig. 11. Iron brooch, La Tène, Switzerland -	266
^b Fig. 12. Bronze brooch, Swiss lake-dwelling -	266
Fig. 13. Bronze brooch, with paste decoration, from the Danes Graves - - - -	267
Fig. 14. Bronze brooch from the Danes Graves -	267
Fig. 15. Iron brooch from the Danes Graves -	268
Fig. 16. Penannular ring brooch from the Danes Graves -	268

^a The Society is indebted to the publishers of Evans's *Ancient Bronze Implements* for the blocks of these illustrations.

^b The Society is indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum for the use of these illustrations.

PLATE

PAGE

Fig. 17. Bronze pin from the Danes Graves	-	-	269
Fig. 18. Bronze pin with coral setting from the River Thames at Hammersmith	-	-	271
Fig. 19. Bronze armlet from the Danes Graves	-	-	271
Fig. 20. Spindle whorl of chalk from the Danes Graves	-	-	271
Fig. 21. Linch pin from the King's Barrow, Arras	-	-	279
Fig. 22. Iron bit coated with bronze from the King's Barrow, Arras	-	-	280
Fig. 23. Enamelled bronze bridle-bit from Rise, Holderness, now in the British Museum	-	-	281
Fig. 24. Bronze boss from the Charioteer's Barrow, Arras, now in the York Museum	-	-	282
Fig. 25. Object of deer's horn from the Charioteer's Barrow, Arras	-	-	283
Fig. 26. Bronze object from the Charioteer's Barrow, Arras	-	-	284
Fig. 27. Bronze disk from the Charioteer's Barrow, Arras	-	-	284
Fig. 28. Bronze and iron nave-hoop, chariot-burial, Arras	-	-	285
Fig. 29. Bronze bridle-bit, chariot-burial, Arras	-	-	285
Fig. 30. Bronze and iron harness ring, Arras	-	-	286
Fig. 31. Bronze-mounted iron mirror, from chariot-burial, Arras	-	-	287
Fig. 32. Bronze sword-sheath, Stanwick, Yorks.	-	-	289
Fig. 33. Embossed bronze, Stanwick	-	-	289
Fig. 34. Bronze mount, Stanwick	-	-	289
Fig. 35. Curved bronze plate, Stanwick	-	-	289
Fig. 36. Bronze bar of bridle-bit, Stanwick	-	-	289
Fig. 37. Part of bronze mount, Stanwick	-	-	290
Fig. 38. Part of bridle-bit, Stanwick	-	-	290
Fig. 39. Bronze open-work mount, Stanwick	-	-	290
Fig. 40. Bronze and iron linch-pin found at Stanwick	-	-	290
Fig. 41. ? Ring of a bit, Stanwick	-	-	290
Fig. 42. Necklace beads from the Queen's Barrow, Arras	-	-	296
Fig. 43. Bronze and coral brooch from the Queen's Barrow, Arras	-	-	296

PLATE	PAGE
^a Fig. 44. Brooch with coral, Pleurs, Dépt. Marne - -	298
^a Fig. 45. Brooch ornamented with coral, Pleurs, Marne -	298
Fig. 46. Bronze pendant inlaid with coral and paste, from the Queen's Barrow, Arras - - - -	298
Figs. 47, 48. Bronze armlet and ring from the Queen's Barrow, Arras - - - - -	299
Fig. 49. Bronze armlet from the Queen's Barrow, Arras -	299
Fig. 50. Ringed pin from the Queen's Barrow, Arras -	299
Fig. 51. Gold ring from the Queen's Barrow, Arras -	300
Fig. 52. Bronze armlet from the Danes Graves -	300
Fig. 53. Bronze armlet in the British Museum, from Arras	302
Fig. 54. Bronze bracelet, Arras - - - -	302
Fig. 55. Bronze ring, Arras - - - -	302
Fig. 56. Chalk spindle whorl, from Arras - - -	303
Fig. 57. Miniature bronze axe, from Arras - - -	303
Fig. 58. Skull from the Danes Graves - - -	314
XXX. Skulls from the Danes Graves - - - facing	314
Fig. 1. Site of Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Ipswich - -	326
Fig. 2. Iron spear-heads, with sections, Ipswich - -	328
Fig. 3. Iron shield bosses, Ipswich - - -	331
Fig. 4. Iron buckles, with sections, Ipswich - -	331
Fig. 5. Iron girdle-hanger, Ipswich - - -	332
Fig. 6. Iron girdle-hangers, Ipswich - - -	332
Fig. 7. Square-headed bronze-gilt brooches, Ipswich -	333
Fig. 8. Section of brooch (Fig. 7, No. 2), Ipswich -	332
Fig. 9. Brooches and Frankish buckle, Ipswich - -	334
Fig. 10. Bronze buckle, Ipswich - - -	336
XXXI. Anglo-Saxon bead necklaces found at Ipswich - facing	336
Fig. 11. Amber glass cups, Ipswich - - -	337
Fig. 12. Green glass cup, Ipswich - - -	337
XXXII. Anglo-Saxon bead necklaces found at Ipswich - facing	340
XXXIII. Anglo-Saxon bead necklaces found at Ipswich - facing	344

^a The Society is indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum for the use of these illustrations.

PLATE	PAGE
Fig. 13. Anglo-Saxon pottery, Ipswich - - -	348
Fig. 14. Bronze brooch - - -	349
XXXIV. Sculptures on the south porch of Lincoln Minster - facing	381
XXXV. Sculptures on the south porch of Lincoln Minster - facing	385
XXXVI. Sculptures on the south porch of Lincoln Minster - facing	387
Fig. 1. Sketch of one of the Foolish Virgins, showing the inverted lamp - - -	383
Fig. 1. Almery and money box (side and front views) in Wensley Church, Yorks - - -	413
Fig. 2. The great almery of relics in the cathedral church of Gloucester - - -	416
Fig. 3. The feretrar's chamber and relic almeries in St. Alban's Abbey Church - - -	419
XXXVII. The Selby almery, showing internal arrangement - facing	421
XXXVIII. The Selby almery at the time of the fire of 1906 - facing	421
XXXIX. Set of table knives and case in the British Museum - facing	426
Fig. 1. Pendant in the British Museum with monogram of Oliver of Blois and his wife Ysabel; and ornament on the backs of the knife-handles - - -	427
Fig. 2. Earthenware watering-pot in the British Museum -	427
Fig. 3. The Duc de Berri at dinner, carvers in foreground	429
XL. Silchester—Plan of <i>Insula</i> XXXIV. - - facing	432
XLI. Silchester—Mosaic pavements from <i>Insula</i> XXXIV. facing	433
Fig. 1. Apsidal chamber and stokehole of hypocaust in House No. 1, <i>Insula</i> XXXIV. - - -	435
Fig. 2. Worked timbers found in House No. 1, <i>Insula</i> XXXIV., under the floor of Room 23 - - -	438
Fig. 3. Eastern wing of House No. 1, <i>Insula</i> XXXIV., looking south - - -	440
Fig. 4. Vaulted chamber in House No. 1, <i>Insula</i> XXXIV. The view shows the stone threshold of the door and the fragments of the fallen vault - - -	441
Fig. 5. Details of vaulting of hollow voussoirs from Room 27, House No. 1, <i>Insula</i> XXXIV. - - -	443
Fig. 6. Wooden trough under part of the northern corridor of House No. 1, <i>Insula</i> XXXIV. - - -	446

PLATE	PAGE
Fig. 7. Tank (filled with rain water) on south side of House No. 1, <i>Insula</i> XXXIV. - - - -	448
Fig. 8. Block plan of Silchester, showing portions excavated down to the end of 1906 - - - -	450
XLII. Caerwent.—Plan of House No. VIIIN - - - facing	452
XLIII. Caerwent.—Coloured wall decoration from House No. VIIIN facing	453
Fig. 1. Channelled hypocaust (of the second period) in Room 12, House VIIIN, from the east - - -	454
XLIV. Caerwent.—Architectural fragments found in 1906 - facing	456
Fig. 2. Base of a flue in Room 14, House No. VIIIN -	458
Fig. 3. Urn and contents found in House No. VIIIN -	459
Fig. 4. Pewter vessels found at Caerwent in House No. VIIIN	463
XLV. Silver-gilt crosier of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester 1367-1404 - - - - facing	465
XLVI. Gold jewel and silver-gilt crosier of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester - - - - facing	468
XLVII. Ornamental details of the precious mitre of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester - - - facing	474
Fig. 1. Hinges and joint of the jewelled bands of Bishop William of Wykeham's precious mitre - - -	475
XLVIII. Front of the mitre of William of Wykeham, as restored from remaining fragments - - - - facing	476
XLIX. Back of the mitre of William of Wykeham, as restored from remaining fragments - - - - facing	478
Fig. 2. Jewelled ornaments from the mitre of Bishop William of Wykeham - - - -	478
Fig. 3. Original leather case of Bishop William of Wykeham's mitre - - - -	481
Fig. 4. Stamped fleur-de-lis pattern on the leather case of Bishop William of Wykeham's mitre - - -	482
Fig. 5. Leather mitre case at New College, Oxford -	483
L. Gloves and part of mitre of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester - - - - facing	484
LI. Silken buskins of William of Waynfleet, Bishop of Winchester, 1447-1486 - - - between 486 and 487	

xix

PLATE		PAGE
LII.	Sandals and shoe of William of Waynfleet, Bishop of Winchester, 1447-1486- - - - - facing	487
LIII.	Remains of crosiers found in the graves of bishops of St. Davids - - - - - facing	488
	Fig. 6. Silver chalices found in graves of Bishops of St. Davids - - - - -	490
	Fig. 7. Gold ring found in the grave of a Bishop of St. Davids - - - - -	491
	Fig. 8. Silver fragments found in the grave of a Bishop of St. Davids - - - - -	491
LIV.	Latten frame and ferule of a funeral crosier found in the grave of Henry Gower, Bishop of St. Davids 1328-47 facing	492
LV.	Paving tiles found at Stanley Abbey, Wilts - - - facing	514
LVI.	Paving tiles found at Stanley Abbey, Wilts - . facing	514
LVII.	Stanley Abbey, Wilts. Ground plan - - - facing	516
	Fig. 1. Stanley Abbey, Wilts. Plan of the precinct -	497
	Fig. 2. Sunken pillar in south transept - - -	500
	Fig. 3. Architectural details of the south transept -	501
	Fig. 4. Incised grave stones found in the south transept -	502
	Fig. 5. Respond of the south chapel - - -	505
	Fig. 6. Base from the chapter-house, showing lead and iron packing - - - - -	507
	Fig. 7. Architectural details of the chapter-house and dorter subvault - - - - -	508
	Fig. 8. Fragments of pierced lead panels found at Stanley Abbey - - - - -	515
	Fig. 9. Bronze buckle found at Stanley Abbey - - -	516
LVIII.	Funeral effigy of King Edward III. - - - facing	533
LIX.	Funeral effigy of Queen Katherine of Valois, and head believed to be that of Queen Anne of Bohemia - facing	545
LX.	Funeral effigy of Queen Elizabeth of York - - - facing	546
LXI.	Funeral effigy of King Henry VII. - - - facing	551
LXII.	Busts of the funeral effigies of King Henry VII. and Queen Anne of Denmark - - - - - facing	552
LXIII.	Herse and funeral effigy of Queen Elizabeth - - - facing	553

PLATE	PAGE
LXIV. Funeral effigies of Queen Mary, obverse (1) and reverse (2), and Queen Anne of Denmark (3) - - facing	554
LXV. Funeral effigies of Henry, Prince of Wales (1), King James I. (2), and General Monck (3) - - facing	557
LXVI. Herse and funeral effigy of Henry, Prince of Wales - facing	558
LXVII. Herse of King James I. with funeral effigy - - facing	558
LXVIII. Herse of General George Monck, Duke of Albemarle, 1670 facing	560
LXIX.-LXX. Stonehenge as seen from a War Balloon - - facing	571

ERRATUM.

Page 216, line 23 - - For "garlic, mustard," read "garlic-mustard."

XII.—*An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery in Ipswich.* By NINA FRANCES LAYARD, F.L.S.

Read 29th November, 1906.

ON January 4th of this year (1906) when visiting some works that had been started for the relief of the unemployed at Hadleigh Road, Ipswich, I was fortunate enough to discover that the high land which was being levelled was the site of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery. The slope overlooks the river Gipping, and is on the west side of the town, near the railway. (See plan, Fig. 1.) Already over 150 men had been at work for two months, little dreaming that treasures of antiquity were being thrown away at nearly every stroke of the pick. Five skeletons had been found, but these had been pronounced quite recent, and were re-interred without further notice being taken of them.

An examination of the ground from which the skeletons had been removed convinced me that the interments were of great age, for the Crag was in a very clean condition, almost entirely free from any signs of organic decay.

A week after my first visit to the field, while searching round the walls of the cutting, I noticed human bones protruding. A skeleton was disinterred, but nothing was found with it. It lay facing north-east. On January 19th another grave was found, and this gave the clue to the real nature of the burials. The skull of this skeleton was of extraordinary shape, the forehead being more receding than that of the Neanderthal skull, and I at first hoped I had come upon a calvaria that would eclipse that of *Pithecanthropus* itself. As strict accuracy is important as regards such discoveries, a photographer was sent for, and a picture taken as the skull was removed from its place. Further investigation,

however, revealed the boss of an Anglo-Saxon shield. I at once communicated the find to Sir John Evans, who explained the true nature of the discovery.

The skull was sent to Professor Macalister of Cambridge, who pronounced its peculiar formation to be due to damp and the weight of the earth on the unprotected skeleton. Pressure from above had flattened out the forehead. That



Fig. 1. Site of Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Ipswich.

this was the case was soon proved by the finding of perfect skulls into which earth and stones had worked, filling them up and so preserving the normal shape.^a

Owing to the fact that the "unemployed" workmen were engaged in piece-

^a A number of skulls since found have also been subject to post-deformation, the result of burial without a coffin.

work, the search for relics was attended with great difficulties, as no sooner was the earth picked down than it was carried off in wheelbarrows and flung into the valley below.

Only by watching their rapid work as carefully as possible, and seizing upon any scrap of rusted iron or verdigrised metal that fell out, was anything saved. Finally I communicated the discovery to Mr. Packard, the chairman of the Ipswich Museum, and offered my services to the committee, when we obtained leave to have certain areas marked out for more serious research, and employed four men, whom I trained to the work, to excavate with a view to the Anglo-Saxon remains only. The scheme was warmly taken up by the Museum authorities, and the funds for this extensive work liberally supplied, so that it might be done as efficiently as possible.

As skeletons turned up at various parts of the large area that was being levelled, it became evident that our small gang would have to turn over the whole of the surface in advance of the army of unemployed, if we were to lose nothing of this important find. The depth of the graves varied from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 feet, and they were to be found in the softer material overlying the ballast; so that while the rest of the workmen had to remove the hard clays and stony bands below, we were able to keep ahead of them by continually moving from one part of the field to another.

Our labours were soon rewarded by the discovery of a number of interments, often accompanied by the interesting relics peculiar to Saxon burials. I have already superintended the examination of 110 graves, making in all, with the four skeletons previously found, 115 burials.^a There is still much to be done, and I hope when the field has been completely looked over we shall have a collection of Anglo-Saxon relics at Ipswich which will hold its own with other local collections of the kind.

Summing up the results of our work up to the present, the following is a list of relics found:^b

Forty-two spear-heads, including a toy lance (or arrow-head).

Seventy-seven knives.

Sixteen bosses of shields (some broken).

Seven handles of bosses.

^a Since reading this paper the work has been continued, and the total number of graves examined has now reached 159. See Appendix.

^b For the full number of relics found, including those since the paper was read, see Appendix.

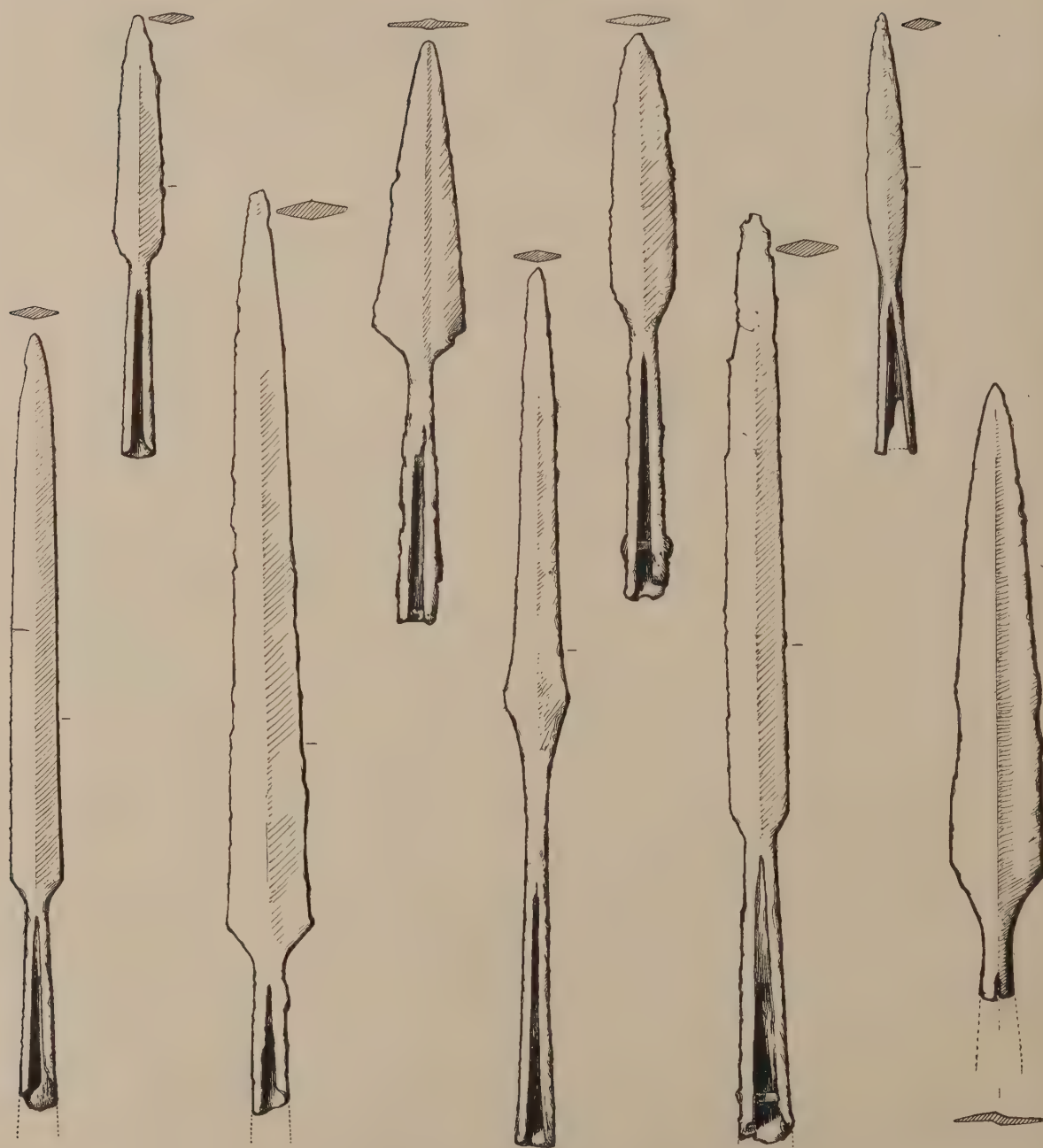


Fig. 2. Iron spear-heads, with sections, Ipswich. ($\frac{1}{3}$.)

Thirty-two necklaces of beads, containing in all 848 beads; also three single beads worn by men.

One necklace composed of a silver ring, on which is one amber bead.

Twenty brooches.

One large ornamental buckle in three parts (of the Frankish type).

One ditto smaller ornamented with bronze bosses.

Sixteen small bronze buckles with and without shanks.

One iron key.

One bronze key.

Six iron pot-hooks (P) and latch-keys (P).

Two double-toothed combs.

Twenty-four brownish-black urns (with and without bones), many broken.

Four glass drinking cups.

Two pairs of tweezers.

Two small finger-rings or ear-rings of twisted wire.

One ditto of bronze.

Three small circular silver pendants.

Four bronze rings.

One spindle-whorl of red pottery.

Four strike-a-lights.

One large ornamental bronze ring.

One square fragment of a bronze ornament.

Nine iron buckles.

Six iron rings.

Two frameworks of *situlæ*; besides miscellaneous scraps of iron objects, such as *chatelaines*, etc.

One Roman coin of Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 161.^a

The spear-heads and javelin-heads (Fig. 2) are of great variety, no two being identical in shape. They vary from the short broad form to the long slender weapon of great elegance, but all with one exception have the longitudinal slit in the socket to receive the wooden staff. In many the wood may still be seen. Some of these spears appear to have been lying on cloth, for material of a coarse texture is imprinted on the iron rust. Where we have been able to uncover them completely before removal, they have been mostly found on the left side of the

^a This coin was unfortunately lost in the post, and has not been recovered.

skeleton, with the point upward, reaching a little above the skull, though in a few cases they are on the right side.

On November 2nd last, when opening the 101st grave, a curious spectacle presented itself. Working from the feet upwards, and hollowing out the grave without removing the top, we were surprised to find that, instead of lying towards the north-east, the lower limbs of the skeleton were turned in a northerly direction.^a A rather large knife was found at the waist, but the spear-head, instead of lying horizontally beside the skeleton, was raised at an angle of 45 degrees, the point being within a foot of the present surface. From the direction of the socket, the shaft of the spear appeared to have been beside the hand of the skeleton. This at first suggested the idea that the person buried had moved, and had attempted to thrust the spear through the $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet of earth that covered him. I took a sketch of the skeleton, as it lay, with the spear raised. Since writing the above I have found another skeleton with a spear raised at an angle of 20 degrees, from which we may conclude that there is a less gruesome explanation of the peculiarity.^b I have found small spear-heads apparently buried in the graves of youths, and one which was beside a rough earthen pot is so small as to suggest its possibly being the toy weapon of a child. There is, however, a difference in the arrangement of the slit in the socket, which does not run in a line with the flat surface of the spear-point, and may prove that it was the point of some other weapon. The knives are invariably worn at the waist. I have found them on the right side. They vary both in shape and size. The women's knives, though sometimes smaller, are not to be distinguished from the men's. I found one firmly welded by iron rust to an iron ring, which it exactly crossed in the middle. They are worn with the point downwards.^c Iron axes have before been found in Anglo-Saxon graves, but the only weapon of the kind found in this cemetery was an axe-head or adze exactly corresponding to the La Tène type.

The bosses (Fig. 3), like the spear-heads, show considerable variety in form and size. Three are of the rare conical form. One of these was very tall and egg-shaped, but it is unfortunately broken. Two of more ordinary type have tin-plated

^a This is I imagine due to land creep, as I have since noticed the same peculiarity in other skeletons.

^b Possibly the spear, being too long for the grave, was placed in a more or less upright position.

^c I believe all the knives were originally in leather sheaths, and were stuck in a belt.

studs in the centre, and one is covered with hide. As to their position, it appears

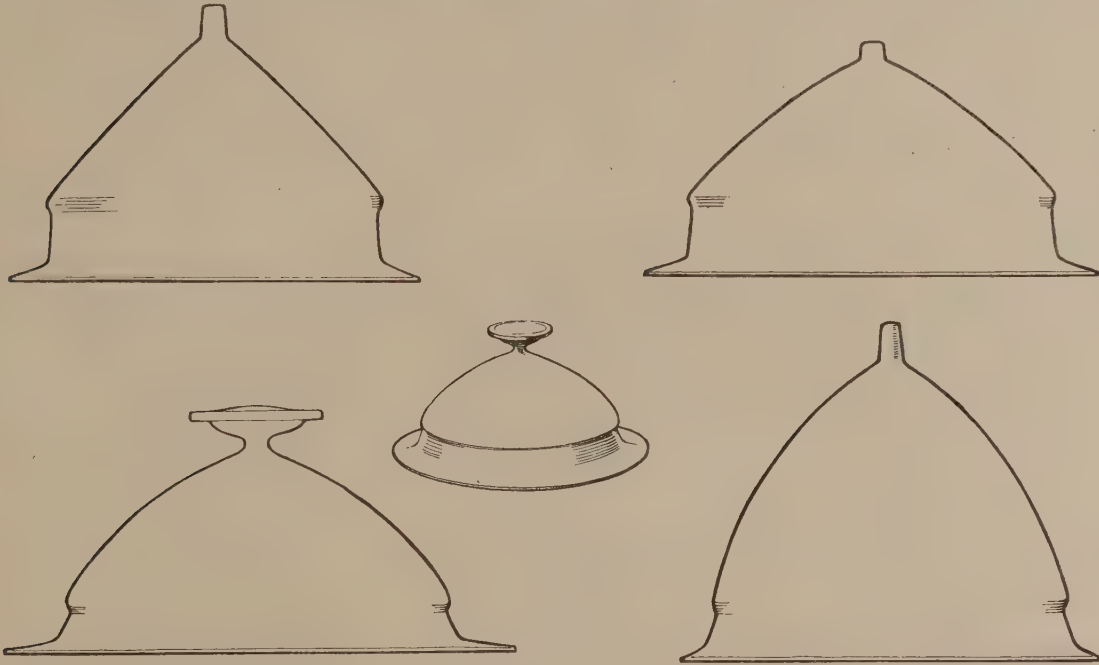


Fig. 3. Iron shield-bosses, Ipswich. ($\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$.)

to vary, some having been found on the right side of the skeleton and two over the mouth. As I thought this evidence important, I have kept the teeth which they covered, some of which were found when cleaning out the boss. Most of the iron handles which crossed the bases of the bosses are broken, but one I found complete and in position. They appear to have been covered with hide or wood.

The iron rings and iron buckles (Fig. 4) were found both in the graves of men and women, and invariably near the waist of the skeleton, the larger ones beside the men and the smaller beside the women. From the rings depended the pot-

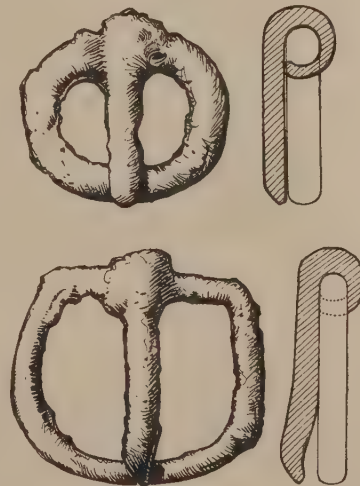


Fig. 4. Iron buckles, with sections, Ipswich.
($\frac{1}{2}$.)

hooks (Figs. 5 and 6) and keys, in the case of the women, and probably other instruments in the case of the men. The most common form of pothook or key in this cemetery is the crook-shaped hook (Fig. 6). Another of different form was hanging from the right side and was lying across the body, with the lower part of the hook against the left hand. I took a drawing of it in position before it was removed. Four iron strike-a-lights were in the graves of men.

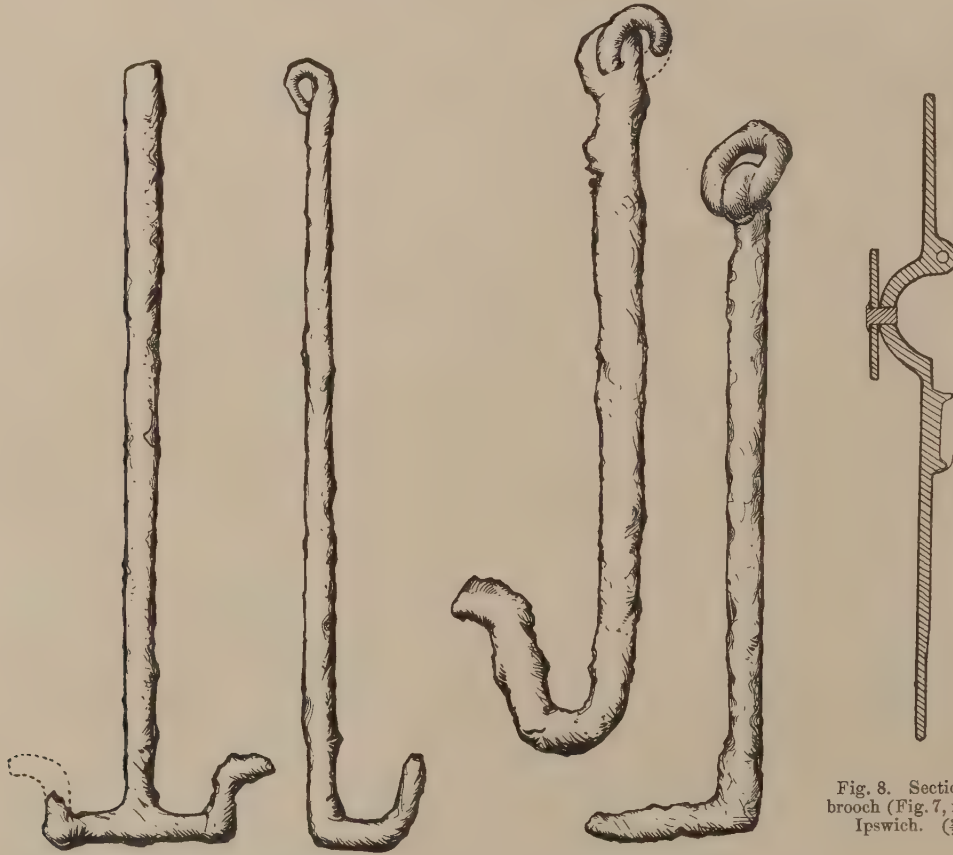


Fig. 5. Iron girdle-hanger. Ipswich. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

Fig. 6. Iron girdle-hangers, Ipswich. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

Fig. 8. Section of brooch (Fig. 7, no. 2), Ipswich. ($\frac{3}{8}$.)

Among the eight square-headed brooches, which are of bronze gilt, beaten on to them, two are deserving of special attention. One (Fig. 7, no. 2) has a stud on the bow (Fig. 8), a type rarely found in England. Another example of the stud was exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries by Sir John Evans, who mentioned a few others as known to him. Brooches with studs on their bows have been found in the Island of Bornholm, Denmark.

Another is of a pattern quite distinct from the rest (Fig 9, no. 1); not only is the general outline of the brooch dissimilar, but the central boss has also supported a stud, which unhappily is lost. Several of these brooches are in a very perfect condition, some having the silver plates with which they were invariably decorated still upon them. The largest of these had been broken and mended with iron. With regard to the position in which the brooches were



Fig. 7. Square-headed bronze-gilt brooches, Ipswich. (3.)

placed, it is probable that it varied according to the numbers in use. In the Ipswich cemetery we never find more than one of the larger brooches on one individual, though the smaller ring brooches are found in pairs. That both the square-headed brooches and the circular jewelled brooches were worn in the centre beneath the chin we have the evidence of the verdigrised condition of many of the chin and neck bones. I noticed this in six instances, and preserved the discoloured

bones as evidence. It has been generally believed that the square-headed brooches were always placed with the narrow part downward, but the last brooch of this character found by me was certainly in the reverse position. Mr. Godfrey-Faussett, who examined the Saxon cemetery at Bifrons (near Canterbury), found that the hammer-shaped brooches were invariably placed with the square part below.

Two beautiful specimens of jewelled brooches of the Kentish type were also found. As these are very rarely met with in East Anglia, it is a great satis-

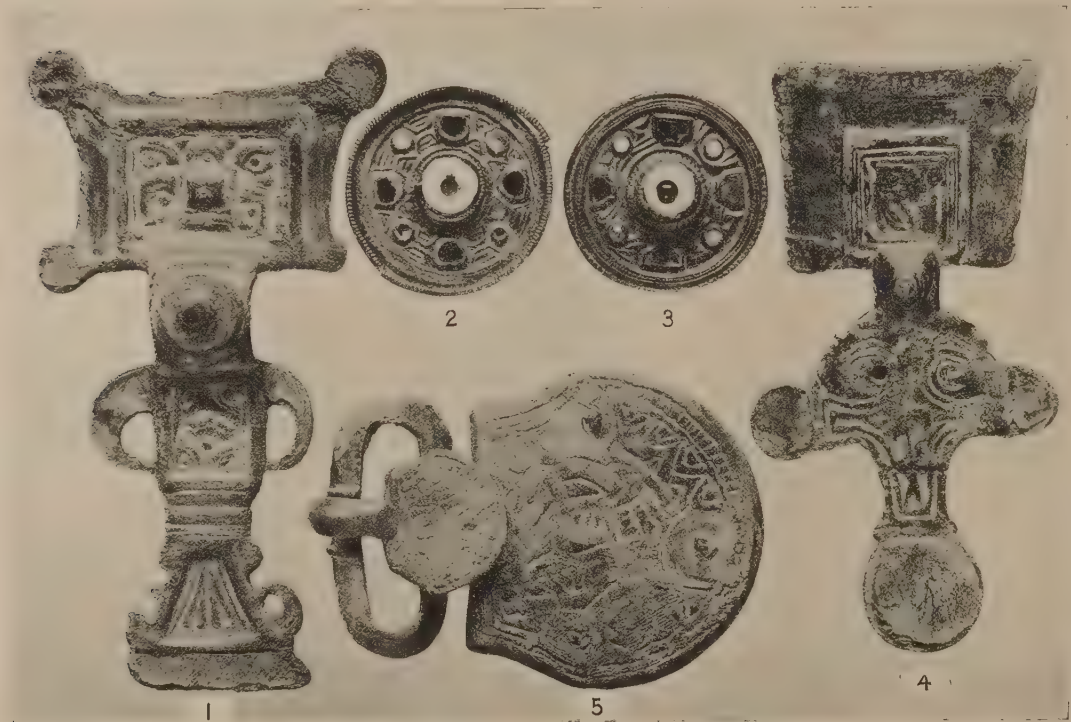


Fig. 9. Brooches and Frankish buckle, Ipswich. (3.)

faction to have discovered them in Ipswich. One (Fig. 9, no. 3) is unusually perfect, the central boss with its ruby-coloured carbuncle being intact. When found, the central jewel of the other brooch (Fig. 9, no. 2) was also in its place, but I had the mortification of seeing the shell or ivory setting dissolve into impalpable dust as I lifted it from the grave. Happily the garnet dropped into the cavity left by the boss, and with it the hatched leaf of gold foil which had been placed behind the stone to increase its brilliance. The garnet is now mounted on plaster of Paris.

The flat circular fibulæ or ring brooches are mostly plain, two only being ornamented, one with rings and dots and the other with scratched markings curiously like the ornamentation of the old Highland brooches. I have lately seen in Scotland tinker-made ring brooches exactly resembling these, both as to size and fastening. In several of the specimens found in Ipswich the garment is still seen adhering to the pin, and even the folds caused by forcing the pins through the material are distinctly visible. In two instances these brooches were placed one below the other on the breast, the upper one immediately below the chin-bone, which was discoloured by it.

Except in one instance where four beads were found in a man's grave, and in three others where single beads were found with men, all the bead necklaces were in the graves of women. I have obtained up to the present thirty-two of these. In every case the wire or thread which held the beads had disappeared, and they were only found by careful sifting of the earth, after picking out all that could be discovered about the neck of the skeleton. In a large number amber beads predominate, but in some of the necklaces these are entirely absent. The rest of the beads consist of glass, clear and opaque, vitreous pastes, and crystal. The largest of these necklaces contains 108 beads.

The arrangement of the beads is more or less obvious. In most cases a distinct gradation in the size of the beads can be recognised, from the large central bead, which is almost invariably found, to the small specimens into which the necklace tails off*. The disposition of the beads is also suggested by the fact that a large majority of them are found in pairs, or at any rate in equal numbers, from which it may be inferred that they were arranged symmetrically on either side of the centre bead.

The patterns of the beads are extremely varied. (See Plates XXXI., XXXII., and XXXIII.) In four of them a serpent is portrayed. This I first noticed on two barrel-shaped beads which lend themselves to such a design. It is also clearly seen on a single bead of blue-black glass. The serpent is conspicuously represented in opaque white on the flattened surface. Among the beads are a few both yellow and blue of the melon shape.

Double beads are also frequently found. In one case only did we discover beads near the wrist. These were of amber, while the necklace was formed of vitreous paste.

A silver ring necklace with a single amber bead is possibly a unique find.

* In the accompanying plates the order of the beads has been somewhat rearranged so as to show every variety of pattern found; consequently the necklaces do not show the symmetrical order above referred to, nor the large proportion of amber beads.

As the only other object with it was a small knife, it is difficult to determine whether it belonged to a male or female skeleton.

Another rare discovery was that of a large bronze buckle of Frankish type. (Fig. 9, no. 5.) Buckles closely resembling it from graves in the north-west of France are to be seen at the British Museum, and I have also seen similar specimens in Sir John Evans' private collection of Merovingian jewellery; but so far as I know this is the first instance of a buckle of the kind occurring in an Anglo-Saxon grave. One of the small bronze buckles with shank is interesting from the position in which it was found, namely, attached to one of the bones of the ear. Although in cleaning it, it became detached, it has been replaced on the bone, which is stained with verdigris. From this it would appear that it held either a helmet or other head-gear in position. Another bronze object which has an ornamental pattern, is the handle of the rather mysterious instruments often to be found hanging from the girdles of women; possibly part of a key or purse. Bronze rings are found near the waist in the graves of women. On November

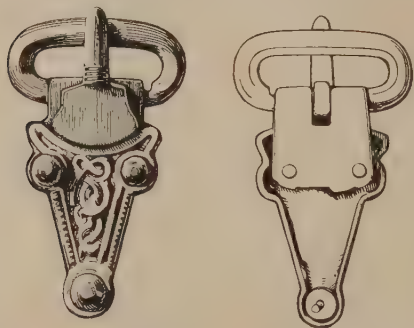


Fig. 10. Bronze buckle, Ipswich. (†)

24th I obtained another ornamental bronze buckle, an illustration of which is here given. (Fig. 10.)

Two amber-coloured glass drinking-cups (Fig. 11) were found and brought to me a few days after I first visited the Anglo-Saxon site. They were said to have been discovered at the depth of $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot, but by the time I had arrived on the field the section had been cut away, and I could get no further particulars.^a Although I have

personally superintended the opening of 110 graves, we never came upon glass again until October 18th last, when two shallow glass bowls of a pale blue-green colour (Fig. 12) were found at the feet of a female skeleton. They are true tumblers which had to be emptied before they could be put down.^b

The grave also contained a bone comb ornamented with dots and circles, a

^a One other which was taken from the field was purchased by Clement Casley, Esq., and has been presented to Ipswich Museum.

^b Analysis of fragments of the blue glass bowls, by E. G. McBretney, F.I.C., F.C.S., Castleford, Yorks.

Silica	69.19	Lime	7.12
Oxide of Iron	0.48	Magnesia	0.49
Alumina	0.57	Alkalies	22.15



ANGLO-SAXON BEAD NECKLACES FOUND AT IPSWICH. (1)

small bronze buckle with shank at the waist, fragments of a pot of superior make, two finger or ear-rings of twisted wire with movable knots, and a pot-hook hanging from the waist and lying across the skeleton to the left hand. I sketched the pot-hook in position before it was removed.



Fig. 11. Amber glass cups, Ipswich. ($\frac{3}{4}$.)

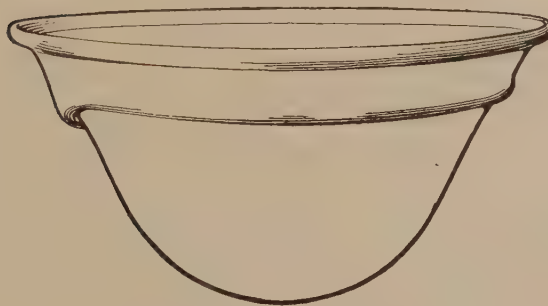


Fig. 12. Green glass cup, Ipswich. ($\frac{3}{4}$.)

We have found in all twenty-four urns or fragments of urns. Two lately discovered in different graves were on the left of the neck of the skeleton.

In four only the remains of bones have been found. One of these sepulchral urns has a hole purposely made through the bottom of it.^a

^a Since the above paper was read I have found many more urns containing bones.

Eight have been found without skeletons beside them.

The cemetery is not yet worked out, and I hope shortly to continue my researches. (See Appendix.)

The position of the skeletons has been almost uniform, that is to say, extended on the back with the arms close to the side and facing north-east, though in a good many cases the land creep seems to have slightly twisted both head and legs northward, the spinal column still keeping its position. In two instances the legs were doubled back, in a kneeling attitude. One of these faced south-west, and with it was a spear-head. The other faced north-east, and had nothing with it.

In two graves fragments of wood were found, but whether these belonged to a coffin or a box, or possibly a shield, it is difficult to say. In one of these a skeleton was seen to be facing south-west, and here we found an unusual number of relics. Among them were two small knives, one ornamental bronze ring, a pot-hook, a necklace of 108 beads including one of crystal, and a square-headed brooch of an unusual form.

The collection, which is the property of the Ipswich Museum, will be placed in the Museum of Local Archæology, Christ Church Mansion, Ipswich.

I have to thank Sir John Evans, Mr. Charles Hercules Read, and Mr. Reginald Smith for kind help given to me during my researches.

A LIST OF THE CONTENTS OF THE GRAVES FOUND AT IPSWICH.

Grave 1.

„ 2.	} Skeletons and contents thrown away by unemployed workmen.
„ 3.	
„ 4.	

1906.

Jan. 4.

Grave 5.—Fragments of skeleton ; nothing with it.

Two amber glass drinking cups, found at a depth of $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot.^a

Jan. 11.

Grave 6.—Part of skull and bones ; found at a depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet ; nothing with it.

^a These were found by the unemployed workmen and brought to me. I was told that two other glass vessels had been taken off the field, one of which was broken and one sold.

Jan. 19.

Grave 7.—Male skeleton, facing north-east; depth of grave $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Close beside the skull was an iron boss; the skull was much deformed through damp and pressure, the forehead being almost entirely flattened out; the teeth were ground down nearly to the fangs; wisdom tooth large and strong.

Jan. 23.

Grave 8.—Male skeleton, depth of grave 2 feet 8 inches; three yards to the left of Grave No. 7; iron spear-head and knife.

Jan. 23.

Grave 9.—Male skeleton, almost perfect, facing north-east, with legs doubled up; two bosses of shields, one with large button at the top; long bent spear-head, and fragments of brown-black urn.

Jan. 29.

Grave 10.—Female skeleton; depth of grave 2 feet 8 inches; necklace of eight beads.

Feb. 7.

Grave 11.—Parts of human skeleton; depth $3\frac{3}{4}$ feet; small knife, bronze buckle, portion of shank.

Feb. 8.

Grave 12.—Skeleton with upper part of skull much flattened, facing north-east; silver ring necklace, with one amber bead; also small knife; sex unknown.

Feb. 12.

Grave 13.—Skeleton, facing north-east; nothing with it.

Feb. 12.

Grave 14.—Male skeleton, facing north-east; with spear, knife, and boss of shield, with tinned button.

Feb. 13.

Grave 15.—Male skeleton, with small spear-head and knife; strike a-light, ornamented with cable pattern.

Feb. 14.

Grave 16.—Male skeleton, with large spear-head and knife.

Feb. 15.

Grave 17.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; knife; necklace of twenty-two beads (mostly amber); square-headed fibula; ring fibula, ornamented with dots and circles.

Feb. 18.

Grave 18.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; small knife, four beads, one of amber, one of pottery, and two of blue glass melon-shaped.

Feb. 19.

Grave 19.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; circular fibula (Kentish type), set with garnets and shell or ivory; small double-toothed comb on left side of skull; small iron chatelaine ring with iron pendants much broken; large iron pot-hook. The chin-bone was covered with verdigris from the fibula which was placed below it.

Feb. 21.

Grave 20.—Male skeleton, facing north-east, with knife only.

Feb. 23.

Grave 21.—Male skeleton, facing north-east; spear-head, boss of shield, and knife.

Feb. 23.

Grave 22.—Male skeleton, facing north-east, with small spear-head on left side, boss of shield, and knife; boss near right shoulder, and rough black-brown urn about half a foot higher on right of skull.

Feb. 27.

Grave 23.—Female skeleton; small knife and necklace of twenty-eight beads; chin-bone and neck-bone discoloured with verdigris.

Feb. 27.

Grave 24.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; necklace of eleven beads, one being of crystal; square-headed brooch, top missing; side of chin-bone discoloured with verdigris.

Mar. 7.

Grave 25.—Five skeletons found while I was ill; spear-head and broken boss only found during this time.

Mar. 16.

Grave 26.—Male skeleton, facing north-east; large ornamental buckle in three pieces (Frankish type) lying beside upper leg bone, which was discoloured with verdigris.

Mar. 19.

Grave 27.—Male skeleton, facing north-east; broken spear-head.

April 11.

Grave 28.—Male skeleton; boss of shield, two knives, and small buckle.

April 20.

Grave 29.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; a large square-headed fibula in very perfect condition, with ornamental stud on bow (this is a very rare type); also necklace of five beads.

April 23.

Grave 30.—Female skeleton; ring fibula; necklace of thirty beads.

April 24.

Grave 31.—Remains of skeleton; sex unknown; one bead only found with it.

April 26.

Grave 32.—Male skeleton; spear-head.

May 7.

Grave 33.—Bones of skeleton disturbed; broken knife and one crystal bead.

(Our excavations did not commence again till August 21st, 1906.)



ANGLO-SAXON BEAD NECKLACES FOUND AT IPSWICH. (†)

Aug. 21.

Grave 34.—Urn only, found in fragments.

Aug. 22.

Grave 35.—Male skeleton, very much gone to pieces, facing north-east; large spear-head; broken boss; small knife with sheep's horn beside it. The boss was on the right of the skull, spear-head on the left, knife and horn at waist.

Aug. 23.

Grave 36.—Male skeleton gone to pieces; broken spear-head with point upwards, and broken boss.

Aug. 23.

Grave 37.—Skull only, of female, flattened sideways; depth of grave 3 feet 5 inches; chin-bone stained with verdigris; seven beads.

Aug. 23.

Grave 38.—Urn almost whole, containing fragments of bone, found alone at depth of 3 feet 6 inches.

Aug. 24.

Grave 39.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; two ring brooches (one plain, one decorated with scratched lines) arranged one below the other on the breast; bronze buckle near the upper brooch; chin and neck bones verdigrised; necklace of fourteen beads including two of crystal; iron ring on left side of waist with small knife across the middle of it and adhering to it.

Aug. 24.

Grave 40.—Male skeleton gone to pieces; broken spear and knife.

Aug. 24.

Grove 41.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; necklace of nine beads; one square-headed brooch; one knife; half of an iron ring.

Aug. 25.

Grave 42.—Female skull, bones gone to pieces; depth of grave 3 feet 5 inches; necklace of ten beads, including very large amber bead with hole worn into keyhole shape; two ring brooches placed on breast, one below the other; one has material adhering to the pin, the other without pin.

Aug. 27.

Grave 43.—Male skeleton, facing north-east; one long broken spear-head, point upwards.

Aug. 28.

Grave 44.—Fragment of female skull; depth of grave 3 feet 5 inches; necklace of fourteen beads, including one with ring and dot ornamentation, with serpent portrayed on it; also two barrel-shaped beads in glass paste with serpents in white.

Aug. 30.

Grave 45.—Male skeleton facing north-east, without accessories.

Aug. 30.

Grave 46.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; depth of grave 3 feet; necklace of eleven beads of vitreous paste; broken ring brooch, one foot below head.

Aug. 30.

Grave 47.—Fragment of urn only.

Aug. 30.

Grave 48.—Skull only; two knives, one broken.

Sept. 3.

Grave 49.—Male skeleton, in fragments, with small spear only.

Sept. 3.

Grave 50.—Skeleton in fragments; small knife and iron ring.

Sept. 3.

Grave 51.—Skeleton in fragments; small knife only.

(These three skeletons were about 3 feet apart, that is to say, the feet of one 3 feet from the head of the next. Between two of them an urn was found, nothing in it.)

Sept. 4.

Grave 52.—Female skeleton; depth of grave 4 feet 6 inches; the iron fittings of a bucket (situla) found near the feet; ring and knife at waist; necklace of eighty-eight beads, thirty-six being coloured, fifty-two of amber; one square-headed brooch with the top lost.

Sept. 5.

Grave 53.—Female skeleton facing north-east. Necklace of thirty-four beads, including two flat amber ones; ring brooch; broken knife and broken urn.

Sept. 6.

Grave 54.—Skull only, of male. One bead at neck, of opaque blue-black glass with white serpent; fine spear-head, perfect, reaching $\frac{1}{2}$ foot above the skull.

Sept. 6.

Grave 55.—Fragments of skull, with knife in two halves.

Sept. 6.

Grave 56.—No bones visible; one broken knife.

Sept. 6.

Grave 57.—Female skull, bones disappeared; necklace of thirty-six beads, many of them double; three amber beads found beside arm, so probably a bracelet; small knife near to them.

Sept. 7.

Grave 58.—Male skull; spear-head; boss of shield; knife; iron strike-a-light; also handle of boss with canvas on it.

(The boss is of the rare conical shape. The strike-a-light and knife were together at the waist, the spear-head leaning against the skull.)

Sept. 10.

Grave 59.—Female skull, other bones disappeared; depth of grave 3 feet 6 inches; one square-headed brooch with top lost; one bronze buckle; one small iron buckle; knife; and coin of Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 161. The full inscription of this coin would be CONCORDIA AVGVSTOR. TR. POT. XV. COS. III. S. C.

Sept. 11.

Grave 60.—Male skeleton, facing north-east. Boss over the mouth, with teeth beneath it; pair of tweezers; large spear-head apparently on right of skull, point upwards.

Sept. 11.

Grave 61.—Male; no bones visible; broken spear-head in two halves, point upwards; beside it was half a peck of wood ashes. This seemed to be in a large pit.

Sept. 11.

Grave 62.—Female; no bones visible; one knife; one broken buckle; one broken iron pot-hook.

Sept. 12.

Grave 63.—Female skeleton; necklace of six beads, no amber.

Sept. 13.

Grave 64.—Female; no skull visible; necklace of twenty-two beads, many small and tube-like, red, white, and blue, with large centre bead; small iron buckle and broken knife.

Sept. 13.

Grave 65.—Bones disappeared; knife, hook, and broken tweezers.

Sept. 13.

Grave 66.—Female; bones mostly disappeared; necklace of eleven beads, all amber but two; knife and small iron buckle.

Oct. 8.

Grave 67.—Small portion of skull; three beads (two small pipe-shaped, with large centre bead); two nails and small broken knife.

Oct. 8.

Grave 68.—Fragments of skull; one marble beside it.

Oct. 9.

Grave 69.—Skeleton almost disappeared; small knife near skull.

Oct. 9.

Grave 70.—Began to work further down slope on north-west side. Skeleton in good preservation lying north-east on back, limbs straight out, arms straight down side; forehead pressed down over jaw; upper leg bone 18 inches, lower leg bone 15 inches. Scrap of iron buckle only found.

Oct. 9.

Grave 71.—Another skeleton in fragments, buried above the last; nothing with it.

Oct. 9.

Grave 72.—Skeleton flung out by unemployed; one horn core.

Oct. 10.

Grave 73.—Female skeleton in good preservation; necklace of twenty beads; spindle-whorl of red pottery; broken knife; scrap of ivory and two nails.

Oct. 10.

Grave 74.—Male skeleton, bones scattered; broad short spear-head.

Oct. 11.

Grave 75.—Male; depth of grave 4 feet 6 inches; flat broad spear-head; two knives; small bronze buckle, with shank adhering to ear-bone, which was stained with verdigris.

Oct. 11.

Grave 76.—Female skeleton gone to pieces; urn in fragments; near to it twenty-eight beads; knife 2 feet below them; good bronze buckle; depth of grave $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

Oct. 12.

Grave 77.—Male and female; urn whole when found, but went to pieces; close to it twenty-eight beads; scrap of bone only; perfect spear-head; knife and bronze buckle with shank.

Oct. 13.

Grave 78.—Leg bones of male skeleton; fragment of spear-head; small knife.

Oct. 13.

Grave 79.—Female skeleton disappeared; two beads; fragments of small iron chatelaine and small knife.

Oct. 14.

Grave 80.—Parts of skeleton; nothing found.

Oct. 14.

Grave 81.—Fragments of skeleton; nothing found.

Oct. 15.

Grave 82.—Male skeleton in good preservation; short broad spear-head; small knife; fragment of iron, use unknown.

Oct. 15.

Grave 83.—Male skeleton, appeared to be facing south and to be doubled up; one spear-head.

Oct. 15.

Grave 84.—Parts of male skeleton; small spear-head, perfect.



ANGLO-SAXON BEAD NECKLACES FOUND AT IPSWICH. (†)

Oct. 18.

Grave 85.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; depth of grave 3 feet 4 inches; two bowls of blue-green glass, very shallow, found at feet; two small double-toothed combs on either side of feet; small buckle at waist, and pot-hook hanging from waist and lying across the body to the left hand; two finger-rings or ear-rings made of twisted wire.

(I sketched this skeleton before the pot-hook was removed.)

Oct. 19.

Grave 86.—Skeleton facing north-east; depth of grave about 4 feet; legs doubled back; nothing with it.

Oct. 19.

Grave 87.—Male skeleton, facing north-east; fine delicately made spear-head on left side, with point over shoulder; knife.

Oct. 19.

Grave 88.—Male skeleton, facing north-east; boss either quite over mouth or immediately below it; spear-head on left side.

Oct. 22.

Grave 89.—Skeleton gone to pieces, but facing north-east; small knife only.

Oct. 24.

Grave 90.—Fragments of skeleton; nothing with it.

Oct. 24.

Grave 91.—Fragments of male skeleton, facing north-east; spear-head and knife; four beads with it (I never before found more than one bead with a male skeleton); fragments of pot.

Oct. 24.

Grave 92.—Fragments of female skeleton; necklace of ten beads, including large amber in centre with hole worn to key-hole shape; circular jewelled brooch (Kentish type) set with garnet and shell or ivory, perfect except for the setting of the central garnet, which went to powder; cable rim round the brooch; portion of bronze girdle pendant.

The large amber bead showed signs of verdigris on one side.

Oct. 25.

Grave 93.—Male skeleton; two large knives and iron ring.

Oct. 25.

Grave 94.—Male skeleton; boss; fragments of knife and other iron; also pot-hook.

Oct. 26.

Grave 95.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; necklace of fifty-four beads; bronze girdle pendant.

Oct. 27.

Grave 96.—Broken urn full of bones; no skeleton with it.

Oct. 29.

Grave 97.—Broken urn only.

Oct. 30.

Grave 98.—Female skeleton, facing south-west; fragments of wood as if either box or coffin had been here; necklace of one hundred and eight beads, including one crystal and large amber; square-headed brooch of unusual type, with stud missing from the centre; ornamental bronze ring; pot-hook of crook shape; and two small knives.

Oct. 30.

Grave 99.—Small knife only.

Oct. 30.

Grave 100.—Male skeleton disappeared; large spear-head; small knife; bronze buckle with shank.

Nov. 1.

Grave 101.—Female skeleton disappeared; necklace of twenty-eight beads all glass paste; hook and fragment like small iron handle.

Nov. 2.

Grave 102.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; square-headed fibula, perfect, with all the silver plates complete.

(This was lying with the narrow end upwards on the breast. A portion of the chin-bone is stained green from contact with it. Close to the brooch was a necklace of ninety-four beads, including glass of melon shape vitreous paste, and amber. Adhering to the hinge of the brooch was a blue glass bead which I have replaced, as it was dislodged when cleaning the brooch. Among the beads were two small circular silver pendants, small knife, and small iron buckle.)

Nov. 5.

Grave 103.—Male skeleton, facing north-east, but with legs bent round to north; large knife at waist; on left side very elegant spear-head raised at an angle of 45 degrees, the tip of the spear was only 1 foot below the surface; depth of grave 3 feet.

Nov. 5.

Grave 104.—No skeleton; small knife only.

Nov. 5.

Grave 105.—Skeleton, facing north-east, with empty urn standing on left side of the neck; fragment of small knife.

Nov. 10.

Grave 106.—Female; no skeleton, only a scrap of bone; pot-hook or key, and knife.

Nov. 13.

Grave 107.—Skeleton, facing north-east; bones mostly disappeared; small knife and buckle.

Nov. 13.

Grave 108.—Male skeleton; spear-head raised at angle of 20 degrees; and knife.

Nov. 13.

Grave 109.—Male; small urn (no bones); beside it miniature spear-head.

Nov. 13.

Grave 110.—Skeleton, apparently a female, facing north-east, but head and legs twisted northward.

Nov. 14.

Grave 111.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; depth of grave 4 feet 6 inches; necklace of ten beads; large urn in fragments on left of skull; broken iron buckle attached to portions of iron belt studded with bronze.

Nov. 19.

Grave 112.—Female skeleton, almost disappeared; could trace position of bones by the white powder; facing north-east; necklace of sixteen beads and one small knife.

Nov. 19.

Grave 113.—Male skeleton, almost disappeared; a few teeth; small javelin-head.

Nov. 20.

Grave 114.—Skeleton gone to pieces; knife only.

Nov. 20.

Grave 115.—Grave opened by the unemployed; tall conical boss of extremely rare type taken out whole, but broken by them in attempting to clean it; also handle of boss.

APPENDIX.

Since this paper was read 44 more graves have been examined, bringing the total number up to 159. The limits of the cemetery have apparently now been reached. The area has been measured and marked out (see plan, Fig. 1).^a

^a These measurements were kindly made for me by Mr. C. W. Macfell, assistant borough surveyor, Ipswich.

Although a considerable number of relics have again been brought to light, the graves have not been so rich in them as formerly. This is owing to the fact that many appear to have been disturbed previously.

The more recent finds made from November 22, 1906, to January 31, 1907, include :

Ten burial urns (Fig. 13), nine of which contained human bones and were

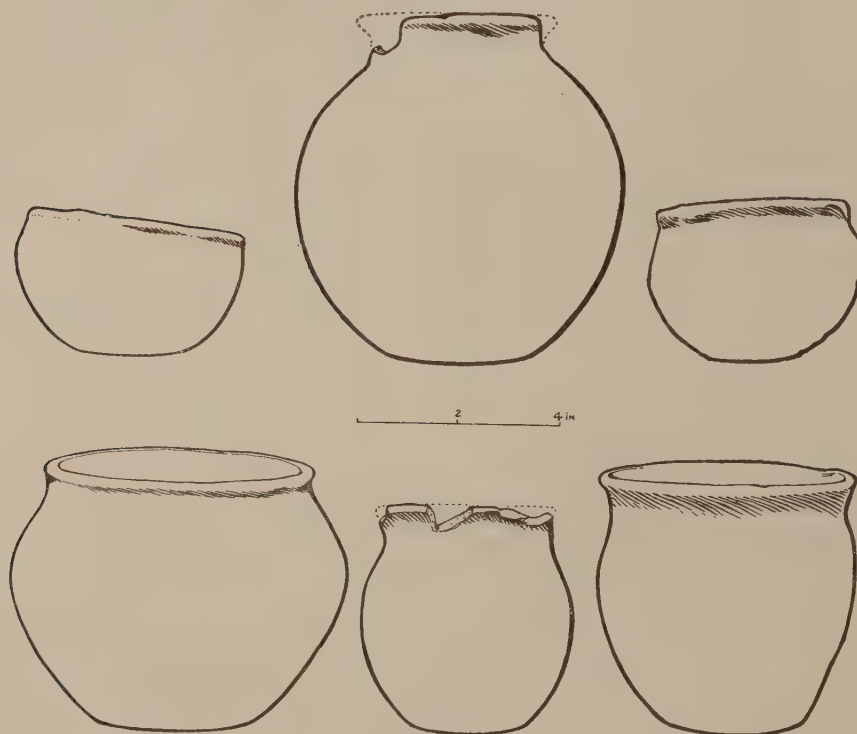


Fig. 13. Anglo-Saxon pottery, Ipswich.

buried alone, while one, which was empty, was on the left side of the skull of a male skeleton.

Seven spear-heads, four of which were seen to be on the right side. The position of the others unknown.

Nineteen small knives, invariably found near the waist.

One finely ornamented bronze buckle, found adhering to the lower arm-bone of a male skeleton. (Fig. 10.) The arm was lying across the waist.

Three necklaces of beads, containing in all ninety-seven beads.

One circular bronze brooch of rare type, with raised wheel-like pattern ornamented with silver plates (Fig. 14). This was in the grave of a woman. Although no urn was visible, the skeleton appeared to have been cremated, for a few burnt bones and cinders only were found. The lower jaw-bone was blackened

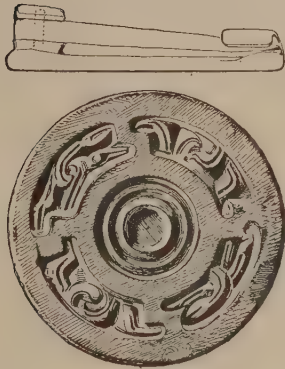


Fig. 14. Bronze brooch. ($\frac{1}{4}$.)

by burning, and the brooch was adhering to it, also two of the beads which formed part of a necklace of twenty-seven beads. A small broken ring brooch and broken knife were also beside it. The depth of the grave was 4 feet.

Two bosses of shields were found with male skeletons. One lay on the right side close to the skull. The position of the other, which was of conical shape, is uncertain.

Among smaller objects found were two strike-a-lights, portions of what appears to be a horse's bit, a staple, nail, fragments of a studded belt, links of a small iron chain, with fragment of pendant, etc. Five small rings of twisted wire were with female remains. Similar rings are usually described as either ear-rings or finger-rings, but these were found below the chin among the beads of the necklace. Iron rings from which the pendants have been lost are often to be found at the waists of both men and women. We were fortunate in finding a key or pot-hook still attached to an iron ring at the girdle. Another of crook-shape was without a ring.

A second Roman coin has been found among the graves. Curiously enough it shows the head of Faustina, wife of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, whose coin is the only other found with these remains. The coin dates before 175 A.D.

The following is a list of the more recently found graves with their contents:

Nov. 22.

Grave 116.—No skeleton; large urn full of bones, which went to pieces when moved; depth of grave $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot. This was about 20 feet from an urn previously found.

Nov. 22.

Grave 117.—Male skeleton facing east; large ribbed spear-head on right side, not reaching higher than the shoulder; depth of grave 2 feet.

Nov. 24.

Grave 118.—Male (?) skeleton, facing nearly north; ornamented bronze buckle on lower arm-bone which was across the waist (the bone was discoloured with verdigris); fragment of broken knife; tiny bronze buckle with shank on the leg.

Nov. 24.

Grave 119.—Skeleton to pieces ; broken knife only.

Nov. 26.

Grave 120.—Fragment of skull, facing east ; broken knife ; fragment of urn.

Nov. 26.

Grave 121.—Flattened skull with bones facing north-east ; teeth of ox above.

Nov. 26.

Grave 122.—Skeleton, facing north-east ; very large skull ; scrap of knife only ; depth of grave 3 feet 6 inches.

Nov. 26.

Grave 123.—Female skeleton disappeared ; necklace of thirty-nine beads and one broken ; small iron buckle ; depth of grave 2 feet.

Dec. 1.

Grave 124.—Female ; no urn visible, but a few burnt bones and cinders. Among them a lower jaw bone blackened by burning. Adhering to it beneath the chin was a circular brooch of rare pattern and two beads. These were part of a necklace of twenty-seven beads ; small broken ring brooch ; also small broken knife ; depth of grave 4 feet.

Dec. 1.

Grave 125.—Male skeleton. Teeth of young person, large and strong ; large perfect spear-head on right side, the point reaching 8 inches above the skull. Good-sized urn on left of skull, nothing in it (it is ornamented) ; broken knife and pieces of iron and broken strike-a-light ; two tiny bronze buckles ; depth of grave 3 feet 6 inches.

Dec. 1.

Grave 126.—Nothing but skull facing north-east, with teeth of young person ; broken knife ; depth of grave 4 feet.

The complete record of the graves is here interrupted, as our workmen were taken off this part of the cemetery, and 180 unemployed set to work upon it, with the result that numerous graves were destroyed, and no relics found. Meanwhile we worked far to westward of the field, where we found broken urns only.

Dec. 3.

Grave 127.—Broken urn only.

Dec. 3.

Grave 128.—Ditto.

Dec. 3.

Grave 129.—Ditto.

Dec. 3.

Grave 130.—Ditto.

These urns were placed in a row about 1 foot apart at a depth of 2 feet 6 inches. They all contained human bones.

Dec. 4.

Grave 131.—Another broken urn found near the last; the earth about it much blackened.

I watched the unemployed at work and saw three skeletons turned out, as follows:

Dec. 4.

Grave 132.—Male skeleton, facing north-east; spear-head on right and very good knife on left; depth of grave 4 feet.

Dec. 4.

Grave 133.—Male skeleton; spear-head; conical boss broken to pieces; depth of grave 3 feet 6 inches.

Dec. 4.

Grave 134.—Skeleton to pieces; broken knife.

Dec. 5.

Grave 135.—Male skeleton with strike-a-light and broken knife.

Dec. 10.

Grave 136.—Urn with child's remains.

Dec. 10.

Grave 137.—Skeleton facing north-east; nothing with it but a quantity of ashes.

Dec. 10.

Grave 138.—Male skeleton facing north-east; spear-head on right shoulder with point above the head; boss of shield on right side, close to skull; knife near waist, with iron buckle beside it.

Dec. 12.

Grave 139.—Female skeleton, with crook-shaped pot-hook or key.

Dec. 12.

Grave 140.—Broken knife only; skeleton disappeared.

Dec. 12.

Grave 141.—Skeleton. Nothing with it.

Dec. 12.

Grave 142.—Ditto.

Dec. 12.

Grave 143.—Large broken urn containing human bones; no skeleton.

Dec. 12.

Grave 144.—Skeleton; nothing with it.

Dec. 12.

Grave 145.—Broken knife only; skeleton disappeared.

Dec. 12.

Grave 146.—Large urn alone.

These eight skeletons found on December 12th appeared to have been disturbed.

Dec. 19.

Grave 147.—Female skeleton, facing north-east; teeth of aged person; thirty-one beads found below the chin; small bronze ring near the beads; broken knife and broken iron buckle, with fragment of belt with bronze studs at the waist.

Dec. 19.

Grave 148.—Female skeleton gone to pieces; pot-hook still attached to iron ring at waist; broken knife.

Dec. 19.

Grave 149.—Fine spear-head found by the unemployed.

Jan. 2.

Grave 150.—Skeleton only.

Jan. 4.

Grave 151.—Skeleton; knife only.

Jan. 7.

Grave 152.—Skeleton, facing north-east, gone to pieces; small knife only.

Jan. 7.

Grave 153.—Skeleton, facing north-east, gone to pieces; knife only.

Jan. 16.

Grave 154.—Female skeleton, facing north-east, but with head and legs pushed by soil creep in a northerly direction; below the chin a necklace of thirty beads, and three rings of twisted wire among the beads; small iron buckle at waist; teeth of tolerably young person.

Jan. 17.

Grave 155.—Skeleton gone to pieces, but facing north-east; small bronze buckle with shank, and broken knife; both on hip.

Jan 17.

Grave 156.—Good spear-head and knife brought to me by a man who found them beside a skeleton last year.

Jan. 21.

Grave 157.—Skeleton entirely disappeared; five beads; broken wire ring among them.

Jan 21.

Grave 158.—Skeleton almost disappeared; links of iron chain; staple; iron fragment studded; nail.

Jan. 31.

Grave 159.—Skeleton; nothing found with it.

XIII.—*Clerical Life in the Fifteenth Century, as illustrated by Proceedings of the Court of Chancery.* By C. TRICE MARTIN, Esq., B.A., F.S.A.

Read 13th December, 1906.

SOME of those present may perhaps remember that nearly three years ago I read to the Society some specimens of Chancery Bills in the fifteenth century, in order to show the kind of information which they afford about the methods of business and the social habits of the period.

Since then I have continued my work of arranging and printing a list of these documents, and while doing it have copied out a number which refer to parish priests and parish churches in London and the country, which I have the pleasure of bringing before you to-night.

As these bills are either presented by a priest who considers himself ill-used, or by some other person who complains of a priest's ill-conduct, the side of clerical life which they show is rather the seamy side, but at all events some of them are graphic enough.

The period to which they belong is the latter half of the fifteenth century, from the chancellorship of Thomas Rotherham, archbishop of York, which began in 1480, to that of William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, which ended in 1515.

To each bill are appended the names of two *plegii de prosequendo*.

In later times this became purely formal, and the names were generally fictitious, but as early as the chancellorship of Thomas Rotherham, when bishop

of Lincoln, which lasted from 1474 to 1480, I noticed how often these two names were the names of two colours, and if one name was a colour, the other was almost sure to be a colour also, as, for instance :

Willelmus Rede de London, draper.
Johannes Blake de eadem, tayllour.

Willelmus Grene de London, yoman.
Johannes White de eadem, yoman.

Johannes Broun de London, gentilman.
Willelmus White de eadem, yoman.

Henricus Whyte de London, yoman.
Willelmus Blake de eadem, yoman.

There is no need to multiply specimens. They are frequent enough. One such name would not attract notice, but coming in constant pairs they arouse suspicion. I soon found that the same duality was attached to names of fish, as

Johannes Perche de London, gentilman.
Robertus Roche de London, yoman.

and then that there was an evident predilection for names which rhymed, as

Robertus Gyll.
Willelmus Myll.

Hugo Myll de London, yoman.
Walterus Hyll de eadem, yoman.

Thomas Grave de London, gentilman.
Johannes Drave de eadem, yoman.

Johannes Cotton de London, gentilman.
Willelmus Potton de eadem, gentilman.

Johannes Cukke de London, yoman.
Willelmus Duk de London, yoman.

Willelmus Dun de London, yoman.

Johannes Gun de eadem, yoman.

Johannes Herenden de London, gent.

Edwardus Swerenden de London, gent.

But one of the most certainly fictitious is the second name of the following pair :

Johannes Marten de London, yoman.

Johannes Netram de London, yoman.

where the latter name is merely the former one spelt backwards.

There are also cases of association of meaning besides those already mentioned, as

Ricardus Somer de London, gentilman.

Thomas Mey de London, gentilman.

Johannes Norton de London, yoman.

Thomas Sutton, de eadem, yoman.

Willelmus Herte de London, yoman.

Johannes Parke de London, yoman.

By the time of Cardinal Morton's chancellorship, the familiar names

Johannes Doo de London, yoman.

Willelmus or Ricardus Roo de eadem, yoman.

become frequent enough.

These same names had been already employed in certain proceedings in the Court of Exchequer as early as the reign of Henry VI.

And now I am going to read you a few of these bills in their *ipsissima verba*.

The first three are cases where a parson complains of being accused of some wrongful deed of which he says that he is not guilty, and he ascribes the charge to the malice or the prejudice of layfolk.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 206, No. 51.

Mekely shewith unto your gode grace your pore Oratour Sir John Horn, prest, that wher of late Richard Higham, Serjaunt of the Lawe, William Milborn, Chamberleyn of London, and John Stork, Citizin and grocer of London, executours of the testament of William Horn, Citizin and Alderman of London whan he levid, haith affermyd an pleynt of trespas in London againez your forsaid Oratour, wheruppon he was arrestid and putt into the Countre in the Pultre of London and ther abidith as prisoner and haith ben by the space of an monyeth and more. And incontynent as your said Oratour was arrestid, then the said executours made compleynt unto your gode grace of suche causez wherein thei felt theym self grevid agaynez your seid Oratour, wherof your grace committid the examinacion to Doctour Rowthall, in the whiche causez the said Doctour haith made non determinacion as yit. And that notwithstandyng the said executours haith now procedid in London uppon their said pleynt and haith declarid that your said Oratour the .x.th day of December in the .xij.th yere of King Henry the .vij.th in the parisch of Seynt Thomas thappostyll of London with force and armez, that is to say, with knyffes, a pece of gold with a coveryng of gold, a cheyne of gold and another cheyne called a devyse, and .v.^o perlez unto the valour of .cc. *li.* and .vij.^c *li.* in money nombryd of the same pleyntyfes then and ther found, toke and bare away agaynez the kynges peas to the hurt and damage of the said pleyntyfes of a .m.^l *li.* Whereunto your said Oratour haith aunswered that he is not gylty, wherin the parties ben at issue. And ther uppon .xij. men of the said parisch of Seynt Thomas thappostyll haith ben inpanellid and somonyd, whiche haith indignacion and invy agaynez your said Oratour for so muche as the said William Horn, Alderman, willid and ordeignyde that an prest shuld have exibicion to syng for his soule in the said Chirche of Seynt Thomas thappostyll, whiche now is ordeignyde to be done by on Master Portland, Bacheler of Dyvynyte at the Unyversyte of Oxenford. And for so muche as the said prest is not ordeignyde to be and syng in the said Chirche of Seynt Thomas thappostyll, all the parichyns of the said Chirche gretely blamyth your said Oratour, sayng that it is long of hym and of non other. Wherefore your grace, remembryng that the said accion is so grete, wherunto that your said Oratour is not able to fynd non seurte bot ever lyke to abyde in prison, and also remembryng that the .xij. men ben parcyall and not indifferent, by meanes wherof your said Oratour is likly to be undone, unlesse that he may have som remede or helpe by the meanez of your gode grace. Wherefore pleas it your gode grace to graunt unto your said Oratour a writt of *Corpus cum causa* to remove the body of your said Oratour with the causez, and therin your goode grace to tak a direccion accordyng to conscience. And your said Oratour shall dayly pray for the preservacion of your gode grace.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 66, No. 472.

Mekely sheweth unto your gracious lordship your humble Oratour Sir Thomas Northfolke, late curate of the parisshe of Seint Bride in Fletestrete in London under Maister Lee, parson of the same Chirche, that where the .xij.th day of Octobre last past, your said oratour, entending to be occupied about certeyn maters of his seid masters, desired one Sir Robert Wode, one of the morowe masse prestis of the seid parisshe, to say High Masse that day for your seid Oratour. Whereto the seid Sir Robert was aggreid so that your seid suppliant wold say the morowe masse that day for the seid Sir Robert. Accordyng to the which aggrement your seid Oratour seide that day there the first masse for the seid Sir Robert. After which masse so seid, your seid suppliant put the masse boke, the chaleys and the vestement that he occupied atte the seid masse into a coferre ordeyned therfore and shet the seid coferre, and afterwards delyvered the key therof unto the seid Sir Robert. And the same day the seid chaleys was taken away, and by whate meanes youre seid oratour knoweth not. And notwithstanding that there be .iiij. mo keyes belongyng unto the seid coferre in .iiij. other severel mennys kepyng, yet hit is so, gracious lord, that one John Martyn and Rogger Hilton, wardeyns of the Fraternite of Our Ladies Chapell in the seid Chirch, where the morowe masse is dayly seid, by the steryng and abbettyng of certeyn persones of the seid parisshe that be displeased with your seid Oratour for divers causes concernyng the right of your seid suppliantis Maister in the seid Chirch, intending for the seid greif to undoo your seid Oratour, have affermed a pleynte of trespas before the Mayre of the Cite of London in the name of the seid Sir Robert, the same Sir Robert therof beyng ignorant, surmyttyng by the same pleynt that the seid Sir Robert shuld delyvere unto your seid Oratour a chaleys price .x. marc saffely to be kept, which to doo your seid Oratour toke upon hym, notwithstanding the seid Chales passed not by estimacion of them that knewe hit .xl. s., and that by the negligent kepyng of your seid Oratour the seid Chaleys is lost, where as God knoweth, there was never soche matier moved nor spoken bytwene your seid Oratour and the seid Sir Robert, nor no maner of negligence in the behalf of your seid Oratour. And the seid Wardeyns and their seid Abbettours consideryng that they be of sufficient poure withyn their warde to have a jure impanelled aftir their entent to passe agaynst your seid Oratour, wolde therfore by force of the seid pleynt compelle your seid Oratour to paye for the seide Chaleys ayenst all right and good conscience and to the most utter undoyng of your seid Oratour forever without your gracious lordship to hym be shewed in this behalf. Please hit therfore your gracious lordship, the premisses considered, and that your seid Oratour is without remedie by the cours of the Comen Lawe, to graunt a writte of *corpus cum causa* directed to the Meire and Shirrefs of London etc.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 66, No. 289.

Mekely besechith your good lordship your dayly Oratour, Sir Robert Beke, preist, viker of the parish Chirche of Eynysford in the Counte of Kent, that where the forseid parish Chirche was late robbyd of certayn juellis by thevys, by colour of the which robbery and by cause of meir malice, the which one John Grawnge had ayenst your seid besecher, the same John Grawnge causid your besecher to be arrestid for suspeccion of the felany aforeseid, and hym conveyd to the jayle of Maydeston. And ther your besecher hath be contynuelly kept in prison and zit is, and may not be sufferd to goo undir baill ne meynprise, ne othirwyse proceid to his delyvere thoro the senistre meanes of the forseid John Grawnge. Howgh be it, good lord, that the thevys which robbyd the forseid Chirche of their owne knowlege were takyn seyn the tyme that your besecher was arresteid, and the same felons were put in execucion for the same felony; and the same thevys, when they were leid toward ther execucion, declarid opynly that they deid the seid felony and that your besecher was nevyr therof guilty, which notwithstanding your besecher is zit kept in prison as is aforeseid, and ful lykly ther to perysh and be distroied withoute the ayde of your gracious lordship be to hym shewed in this behalfe. Therefore that it may please your gracious lordship in tender concideracion of the premysses, to graunt a *corpus cum causa* to be direct to the keper of the forseid jayll of Maydeston etc.

The next affords instances of the perils which beset a celibate priesthood in an unsympathetic country.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 66, No. 259.

Mekely besechith your good and gracious lordship your pouer and contynuell Oratour Sir William Pierson, prieste, that whereas oon Agnes Coll, wyfe unto John Coll, tyler, was associat with certeyn evyll disposed persones, comme unto the house of your said besecher and spoke unto oon of his servauntis, desiryng to speke with his maister. And theruppon your seid besecher comme oute of his house into the Chirche yarde to undirstond what she wold. Then she desired to speke with hym at his house, and when she comme ther, she departed and seid nothyng to hym at that tyme, but seid she wold comme anon ayen. And than she went unto hir seid evyll disposid felowship, and bad theym comme with hir to your seid besechers house, and stond at his dore till she were yn, and they so did, your besecher not knowyng therof nor thought no harme, as God knowith. And when the seid Agnes was

comme into his yarde, she desired to se his chambre, and your seid Oratour denyed hir and seid nay, but bad hir sey what she wold ther in his yarde, for she shuld not comme in his chambre. And than she toke your Oratour by the arme and seid she was comme to entrete for .v. s. that hir husbond owith hym. And theruppon the seid evyll disposid persones that she was associat with, lokid in at his dore seying thus;—"Thowe fals priest, what doist thoue with that woman?" And with that comme yn to hym and seid but if he wold giffe them a gret reward; they wold have hym to prison and utterly shame hym. And he wold in no wyse agre to giffe them non, but send for his neghburs that dwellith aboute hym to undirstond the matter. And than they departed fro your seid besecher and wold in no wise abyde, for they se they coude not have ther intent. And than they went unto John Coll, husbond unto the seid Agnes, and caused hym to afferme an accion of trespas afore the Shirfes of London ayenst your seid Oratour, wherof he was nonsuete. And nowe the seid John hath affermed anothir accion of trespas ayenst your besecher afore the seid Shirfes, and hath declared ayenst hym surmysyng that he shuld take from his seid wife his goodes and catalles to value of .vj. marces and to his damage .c. li. which as God knowith is utterly contrarius. And theruppon ther is a contre sommoned for the quest, wher as somme of the seid evyll disposed felowship that were associat with the seid Agnes at that tyme, be sommoned on the same quest, and so purposyn to condempne your seid Oratour in the sommes aforeseid ayenst all right and conscience, and to his uttermost undoyng withoute your gracious lordship to hym be shewed in this behalf. Wherfore please it your seid lordship the premisses tenderly to considre and to graunt a *certiorari* to be directed to the Shirfes of London etc.

The following gives an interesting glimpse of the parish school. We cannot but wish that the aged pedagogue had given us some hint of what "the ferther lernyng" was which he taught his childish class.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 290, No. 78.

Piteously compleynyng sheweth unto your goode lordship your humble Oratoure Sir William Barbour of London, preest, of the age of .lxxvj. yeres, that wheare as one William Garrard of London, draper, upon .iiij. yeres passed, instanced and desired your seid oratoure to instructe and teache one Elizabeth Garrard, then of thage of .viij. yeres, kynneswoman unto the seid William Garrard, as he seid, the *Pater noster*, *Ave* and *Credo* with ferther lernyng as at that tyme he taught other yong chyl dren to the nowmber of .xxxⁱⁱ. And so your seid oratoure did, thynkyng that the seid Garrard had ben an honest man. And

within .iiij. wekes after, the seid Garrard of his crafty and malicious mynde, surmised and sayd that your seid oratoure had ravysshed the seid Elizabeth, and theruppon commensed an action tofore the Shyreffes of London ayenst youre seid Oratoure. Wheruppon .xij. men were charged, which .xij. then acquyted youre seid Oratoure of the said action. And, gracious lorde, nowe lately the seid Garrard of his pretended malice hath commensed an action of trespas tofore the Shyreffes of London ayenst youre seid Oratoure for the premysses, and hath craftely labored an enquest, whiche intend to passe ayenst youre Oratoure, beyng but a poore man, to his uttermost destruction onles youre moste gracious lordship to hym be shewed in that behalf. That it may therfore pleas youre grace to graunt a *certiorari* to be directed to the Shyreffes of London, commaundyng theym by the same to bryng tofore youre good lordship in the Kynges Chauncery the cause of arrest of youre seid Oratoure, he theare to be ordred by your good lordship accordyng to good conscience. And he shall ever pray to Gode for youre grace long tendure.

There are other accusations of the same nature among these Bills. One more will suffice :

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 66, No. 233.

Mekely besecheth youre gracious lordship youre humble Oratour Sir Richard Roberd, prest, Bachelor of Lawe. Where of grete malice one John Nele hath surmysed upon youre saide Oratour to have defloured his doughter of the age of .v. yere to abhomynably to speke of. And herupon the saide John, to opteyne a lucre ayenst youre saide Oratour, hath taken an accion of trespasse ayenste hym and surete of the peace before the Maier and Sherves of London, and also an Aldermanis commaundement is leyde upon hym, and so is kepte still in prison, and can nat be delyvered upon no surete, to his utter slaundre and damage ayenst all right, God knowith.

Wherfore please it youre saide lordship, the premisses considered to graunte a writte of *corpus cum causa* to be directe to the Maier and Sherves of London etc.

Here we see a parishioner revenging himself for his parson's plain speaking :

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 66, No. 261.

Besecith your good lordship your daily Oratour and Chapleyne John Wilfeld, vicarie of Aylesford in the Countie of Kent, that for as muche as he rebuked oon William Wauton, his

parisshon, for his myslevyng anempst God, the same William of malice and evyll wyll toke certayne feyned playntes ayenst your saide Oratour, aswell of dette and trespasse as of accompte, in Rouchestre afore the Mayre there, and on the same pleintes did your said Oratour to be arested and to be kepte in prysone from the .xvj. daie of Apryll unto nowe, and yet is. And howbeit he hath sufficiently aunswerid in lawe to the saide pleyntes, and also William Bruyn, John Rothewell, Thomas Swanton and John Kynvare, men both sufficient of lyvelode and goodys withyn the saide Citie of Rouchestre, have offred to be surete for your saide Besecher that he shall abide the uttermost of the lawe, yet the Mayre there wille in no wyse let hym to baile. And where as on Ascencion Daye last past he desired of the saide Mayre that he myght with a keper goo to church to here masse, he coude in noo wise be suffred therto, but by cause of his desire the same Maire did commaunde your saide Besecher to be fast fetryd in irons to thentent he shoulde be fayne to geve hym a fyne. And sith that tyme and afore he hath lyen in grete duresse of imprysonament, and longe is like to lie, contrarie to all lawe, reason and concience, to his grete hurte and undoyng, in lesse your good lordship to hym be shewed in this behalve, that it maye please your saide good lordship, the premysses considered, and that the saide pleyntes be but feyned, and also baillable be the lawe, to graunte a writ of *corpus cum causa* directe to the said Maire, etc.

There are indications of the uses to which parsons were accused of turning the power given to them by the practice of confession, of which I give some specimens.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 66, No. 256.

Mekely besecheth your gode and gracious lordship your daily bedman John Marlston, Vyker of Gyldenmordon in the counte of Cantebridge, that where oon Thomas Perne .vij. yere past and more came to your seid Oratour and enfourmed hym that he was robbed of dyvers goodes and catalles to a grete value, by whom it was doon the same Thomas knewe not. And theruppon your said Oratour publysshed it in the Chirche, and seid that he wold accurse theym that hadde robbed hym in lesse they wold restore ayen the same goodes or the value of them. And in Lent next folowyng your seid Oratour gate by waye of confession of oon person a bagge with .iiij. *li.* and hodde silver conteigned theryn, of the goodes which were robbed and taken fro the seid Thomas, and the same bagge with the seid money your seid besecher in presence of dyvers honest men delyvered to the same Thomas, wherwith the same Thomas at that tyme held hym wele pleased, as he seid. And it is soo now, gracious lord, that bycause your seid besecher now of late desired to have of the seid Thomas .xij. *s.* whiche of right ought to hym, the same Thomas hath taken suspencion of felonye on your seid Oratour, and hath caused hym to be arrested by the Shirref of

Cantebridge, supposyng that your seid besecher delyvered hym in the seid bagge but .xxviiij. s., whereof the contrarie is truer, as shalbe sufficiently proved afore your lordship. And howe be it your seid Oratour hath offered to fynde sufficiaunt suerte of worshipfull gentelmen of the countrey ther to abyde the uttermost of the lawe in the premysses, yet the Shirref of the seid shire will in no wyse suffre to be lette to baile in lesse your seid Oratour wold geve hym .x. markes for reward, and by this meane he is kept in prison in grete duresse to his grete hurte and undoyng in lesse your gracious lordship be shewed to hym in this behalfe. Wherfor please it your gode and gracious lordship in consideracion of the premisses to graunt a *corpus cum causa* directe to the Shirref of Cantebridge, etc.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 202, No. 50.

Sheweth unto your grace and good lordship your humble Oratour Nicholas Fonteyn of Wyng in the Countie of Buk', yoman, that where it pleasid Almyghty God in Lenton tyme was a twelve moneth the .xij. yere of the reigne of the kyng our soveraigne lorde that nowe is, to visite your seid Oratour with grete syknesse, and then and there was taken oute of his house a purse wherein was in redy money of golde and sylver the somme of .xx. marcs and more, not knowing to hym when [it] was taken away nor who hadd it. And, gracious lorde, afterwarde unsought of your seid Oratour, one Sir John Parnell, preste of Hogshawe in the seid Countie, sent hym worde by dyvers men that he coude and wolde certifie hym of the seid purse and parcell of the seid money which was taken from your seid Oratour in the tyme of his grete syknesse above written for a reward. Whereuppon the seid Sir John Parnell afterwarde brought unto the same your Oratour .xl. s. parcell of the seid some above written, and covenanted with hym to bring your seid Oratour .viij. li. more, with that he wold reward the seid Sir John with .xx. s. for his labour, bicause he hadd it by mean of confession. Which .xx. s. the same Sir John Parnell hadd for his reward. And yet that notwithstondyng the seid Sir John Parnell now seith the parties ar decessed and refuseth to delyver unto your seid Oratour the seid .viij. li. contrarie to his promyse aforeseid, that it may pleas your good and gracious lordship the premisses tenderly considered, forasmoch as your seid Oratour hath no remedy by the cours of the Comen Lawe, to graunte a writt *sub pena* to be directid to the seid Sir John Parnell etc.

In this case I give the priest's answer as well, and also the complainant's replication.

This is thanswere of Syr John Parnell, priste, to the Bill of Complaynt of Nicholas Founteyn.

The said Sir John saith that he is and hath been by the spase of .xx. yer and more

parisshe priste at the parisshe Chirche of Hogschawe, being a commaundrie belongyng and apperteynyng unto the Prior of Seint Johnes of Jherusalem in Yngland, to the wyche Commaundre is graunted and belongeth like Remission, Indulgence and Pardon unto all personez that visite the same place as is graunted and belongeth unto the House of Seint Johns in London. And he sayth further that in a Lente tyme, that is to say, in tyme of the seid pardon, ther was delyveryd hym in Confession .xl. s. the wyche the delyverer therof likewise in his confession desired the said Syr John to pay and content unto the said Nicholas, the wyche he accordyng dedde, withoute that the said Syr John covenanted with the said Nicholas to bryng unto the said Nicholas .viiij. *li.* for the rewarde of .xx. s. or that the said Syr John hadde or resceyved in rewarde of the said Nicholas .xx. s. or eny other thing in maner and forme as in the bill of the said Nicholas is alleged. All wyche materz and every of theym the said Sir John is ready to prove as this Courte woll awarde, and prayth to be dismissed oute of the same with hys reisonable costys and damagys in this behalf hadde and susteyned.

The Replicacion of Nicholas Founten to the aunswere of Sir John Parnell, preste, to the bille of the seid Nicholas.

The seid Nicholas seith in alle thynges as he before tyme hath seid in the same bille. And that the seid Sir John Parnell, preste, graunted to brynge unto the seid Nicholas .viiij. *li.* for reward of .xx. s. which the same Sir John Parnell shold reteign in hys hondes of the same som. Alle whiche maters the seid Nicholas is redy to prove as this courte shall awarde, and prayeth that the seid Sir John Parnell may be compelled by this Courte to perfourme hys seid grauntes and promyses accordyng to goode conscience.

The bill is endorsed with memoranda about days fixed for hearing the case, but nothing to show what was the award of the Court. In the following cases, the origin of the quarrel between priest and parish appears to have been the priest's management of the church.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 61, No. 435.

Petuously shewith unto your lordship your humble and feithfull Oratour Sir Johan Hikson, preest, vicarie of Wiseburgh^a in the countie of Sussex, that where after he was institut and inducte in the seid benefice, he required and demaunded that suche as bere offices or were ministres withyn the seid Churche, shuld swere unto hym obedience accordyng to the constitucions provincially, as your lordship wele knowith and undrestandith. And for that divers of his parissheons took displaisir ayeinst hym, that is to say, William Lutman, Johan Napper, Waulter Mylner, Richard Hyfold, Richard Shudde, and Johan Chaper, seing

^a Wisborough Green.

that your seid suppliaunt wold bringe new custumes and constroicions among them, and so meoved and excited certain ministres withyn the said Churche not to doo ther seid obedience. For the whiche cause the seid ministres were citid, and att theire apperaunce before thaire ordinarie thay ware charged to owe thaire obedience unto your said suppliaunt as thaire curat and to be reuled by hym in all thynges and observaunces concernyng the ministring of Divine Service within the said Churche. And for this cause the said parsonnes began to malice and to compasse thinges ayeinst your said suppliaunt and excited other of the said parisshe to do the same. And also the said parsonnes and many other of the seid parisshe, claymed to have thaire contynuell entre into the Churche by a dore in the Chauncell, notwithstanding that thei hadd divers dores into the said Churche in the body of the same, and wold compelle thaire curat to be bounde to lette them in and oute atte the said dore in the Chauncell as a parisshe clerke, seyng that it hath be accustomed afore tyme there so to be don. And by cause your said suppliaunt refused so to doo, they compassed and devised the uttermost that thay cowde to the rebuke and distruccion of your seid suppliaunt, in so much that where the said Church was robbed and dispoiled, the said personnes surmised and affermed that your seid suppliaunt shuld be knowyng, willyng and assenting unto the same, whereof, as God knowith and as he hath made his open and lawfull purgacion, he was never giltie, as by his lettres of purgacion and proclamacion more plainly it apperith. And the saide personnes have labored at sundre saisouns in diverse sessions holden in the said Counte, to have endited your seid suppliaunt of the said felonye. And the personnes that shuld passe theruppon, weing in thaire conscience that noon evident prouf cowde be shewid or made thereof, wold in noo wyse fynde your seid suppliaunt giltie of the seid offense. And the seid personnes, seing that thei cowde not attayne unto theeffect of thaire malice by that moyen, laboured unto a Justice of the Peas of the said Counte for a warraunt both for suerte of the peas and for suspecion of felonye, whiche was insufficient. And by vertue of the same the said personnes, whan your seid suppliaunt had ministred unto them divine service and halibrede on a Soneday, and kneled before the auter in his suffragies and praiers, they leyde upon hym violent handes and arrestid hym and entretid hym so rigorously that in the same place they drew blod upon hym, for the which divers of them were excomynycat and yet contynue in the same. And so with outeragious violence drewe hym out of the seid Churche and incontenently sette hym openly and shamefully in the stokkes; and after that as a thief with his armes bounde with a corde, ledde hym unto the kynges gaole of Gilford, where by thaire untrewre suggestions he was entretid as a thief and leied in gret duresse of imprisonment, wherby he was put to his importable costes and charges. Wherupon my Lord of Arundell, undirstandyng the ungodly and unlawfull demenyng of the said personnes, sent in alle goodly hast unto the said gaole for the deliveraunce of your said suppliaunt, by whois moyens he was delivered. And after that by the commaundement of my seid lord, the matier was committed unto the reule of certain worshipfull gentilmen, that is to say, Edward Berkelay, Philip Lowes, James Byne and Thomas Bartolot. And the said persones, undirstandyng that the said gentilmen were fully disposed to have awarded certain money to be yeven unto youre seid suppliaunt in recompense of the manifest

injurye and wronge that was doon unto hym, they refused to abide the saide awarde, and rather wol abide the termynacion of the Comen Lawe, the whiche youre seid suppliaunt is not of power to justifie with theim, seing that they ben of gret richesse and have also engrosed and laboured the contrey after thaire entent if it shuld passe by the same, that youre said suppliaunt shall never prevaile ayeinst theim. Plaise it therefore unto your gracious lordship, benignely considering the premisses, to directe writtes of *sub pena* unto everiche of the said personnes, commaundyng theim to appere bfore your lordship atte a day to be prefixed, to answere unto thees materes, and at thaire apperaunce to provide by your high wisdam suche sharp punisshement and reformacion hereyn as they may take exsample and fere to doo or attempt any suche thinges hereafter, and as youre seid suppliaunt may lyve in rest and peas accordyng to the lawes of the Churche and of the Royaulme. And this for the love of God and in defense of his Churche, seing that youre seid suppliaunt knoweth not where to have remedye in this behalf, sauf only of youre lordship. And he shall hertly pray to God for the preservacion of youre said lordship duryng his naturall lyf.

The next is in French, which is very unusual, and as medieval Anglo-French is not very easy to read intelligibly, I have translated it into English.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 68, No. 133.

Suppliant touz les parochiens de Gryngham juxte Kyrketon in Lyndesey qui sont tenantz a nostre tres redoute Sieur le Roy, que come debate est moeve entre Robert Conyng, person de la moitiee de lesglise de la dite ville de Gryngham, et les ditz parochiens touchant une ymage que le dit Robert ad fait mettre en un lieu deinz leur dite Eglise a graunt nusance des ditz parochiens, issint qils ne purront bien veier la levacion ne divine service fait en la dite Eglise. Et par cause qils leur veullent ent pleindre, il ad fait denuncier pur excomengez touz les ditz parochiens qui luy vorroient contredire ou destourber de sa volente ceste partie; et par tant qils ont purchacez une inhibicion de la dite denunciacion de leur Archidekne, le dit Robert ad sommonez les ditz parochiens destre devant levesque de Nicole deinz un brief jour ore avenir de leur ent treher en plee et diseaser devant luy en qanque il puisse de sa malice. Et aussint par la ou touz les ditz tenantz ont usez du temps dont memoire ne courte, de soner une campane au certains temps en lan de faire touz les ditz tenantz assembler pur le rent le Roy coiller et soun service et autres choses touchant la governaile de la dicte ville de Gryngham faire, come soloit estre dancien temps, le dit Robert leur manace que si aucun de eux tiel chose face ou aucun de eux pursue encontre luy en aucun lieu pur les ditz grevances redresser, qils ne serront si hardyz de

demurrer en lour measons illeoques, et pluisours autres tortz et grevances lour ad fait et face de jour en autre sanz cause resonable, nient eiant consideracion qils sont tenantz a nostre dit Sieur le Roy, come dit est, ou ascun charge de par le Roy a luy fait, issint qils ne osent illeoques outre demurrer, et ensi perdra mesme nostre Sieur le Roy ses rentz de sa dicte ville, si remede ne soit mys celle partie.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 68, No. 133.

(Translation:)

All the parishioners of Grayingham near Kirton in Lindsey, who are tenants of our lord the King, beseech that as a dispute has arisen between Robert Conyng, parson of one half of the church of the said town of Grayingham, and the said parishioners, touching an image which the said Robert has had set in a place within their said church to the great nuisance of the said parishioners, so that they cannot well see the elevation nor divine service performed in the said church. And because they would complain of it, he has caused to be denounced as excommunicated all the said parishioners who would gainsay him or hinder him in his will in this behalf. And because they have obtained an inhibition of the said denunciation from their Archdeacon, the said Robert has summoned the said parishioners to be before the bishop of Lincoln within a short time to come, to bring them into court and vex them as much as he can of his malice. And also whereas all the said tenants have been used from time whereof memory runs not, to ring a bell at certain times of the year, to cause all the said tenants to assemble to collect the king's rent and service, and to do other things touching the government of the said town of Grayingham, as was used of ancient time, the said Robert threatens that if any of them does such a thing, or any of them proceeds against him in any place to redress the said grievances, that they will not be strong enough to remain in their houses there, and he has done and does from day to day many other wrongs and grievances without reasonable cause, in no wise considering that they are tenants of our lord the king, as has been said, nor considering any charge laid upon him by the king, so that they dare not dwell there longer. And so even our lord the king will lose his rents of his said town, if remedy be not found in this behalf.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 78, No. 126.

Humbly shewith unto youre good lordship William Turke and Nicholas Berham, Wardens of parisshe Chirche of Wadehurst in the Counte of Sussex, that where the seid Nicholas afore this tyme beyng Warden of the seid Chirche, was gretly instaunced and labored by Sir John Broun, preest, vicar of the seid Church, to accept and admitte oon William Broun, cousyn to the said Vicar, to the office and service of parisshe clerk of the seid parisshe. And also the same vicar promysed unto the seid Nicholas that he shuld becom suertie for the seid William Broun and be bounde to the Wardens of the seid Chirche for the tyme beyng in a certen somme of money to the value of all the goodes and joelles belongyng to the seid Wardens and to the parissshens of the seid parisshe for the saufe keyng of the same goodis and joelles by the said William Broun, whensoever the seid Vicar were therto required. Uppon trust wherof the seid Nicholas accepted and admitted the same William Broun into the seid office and service of parisshe clerke of the seid parisshe. And also the seid Nicholas, beyng possessed of .ij. vestmentes, .ij. tunicles, a grete boke called 'A Legend' and another boke called 'A Precessionare,' among other goodes and joelles belonging to the seid Wardens and parissshens to the value of .xx. *li.*, of the gret confidence and trust that he had to the promisse of the seid Vicar, delivered unto the seid William Broun the seid .ij. vestmentis, tunicles and bokis with all the other goodis and joelles aforesed sauffy to kepe and to be occupyed in the seid Chirch to the use of the seid Wardens and parissshens. Sith which delyvere of the seid vestmentes, tunicles, bokis, goodis and joelles, the seid William Turke was named and ordained by the seid parissshens to be warden of the seid Chirche with the seid Nicholas Berham. And howebeit that the seid vicar hath often tymes be required as well by the [seid] Nicholas as by the seid William Turke to be bounde in maner and fourme as is above rehersyd, which to do he hath utterly refused and yet refusith. And so it is, gracious lord, that the seid William Broun dissembly and full untrewly hath embeselid the seid .ij. vestmentes, .ij. tunicles, Legend and Precessionary, to the gret hurtte, damage and losse of your seid besechers and of the seid parissshens ayenst all right and conscience, wherof they be withoute remedy withoute your good and gracious lordship to them be shewed in this behalf. It may therefore please your good and gracious lordship the premisses tenderly to considre and to graunt a wrytt *sub pena* to be directed to the seid vicar etc.

Thaunswer of John Broun to the bill of compleint of William Turke and Nichol Berham.

The said John Broun saith that the mater conteigned in the said bill is not certen ne

sufficient to put hym to aunswer, wherof he praith allowaunse etc. And for further declaracion of the tought of the mater, hee saith that the said William Broun was admittid parisshe clerk by the hole parisshe of Wadehurst [a] yere and more byfore the said William Torke and Nicholas wer wardens of the said Chirche. And at the tyme of his admission, the Chirche Wardens for the tyme being nether desired the said William Broun ner non other to bee bounde for hym. And soo the said William Broun hath contenuyd Clerk of the said parisshe by reson of the first admission without desire of any maner of suerte by the said parisshe, without that the said John Broun becam suerte to the said Nicholas for the said William Broun in the maner and fourme as by the said bill is allegged, and without that the said William is brother^a to the said John, and without that the said William hath embeseled the said goodes comprisid in the seid bill of compleint in the maner and fourme as by the said bill is allegged. All whiche maters hee is redy to prove as this Court shall award. Wherfor he praith to bee dismissid with his resonable costes and damages.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 66, No. 304.

Mekely besecheth your gode and gracious lordship Walter Muschamp, clerk, parson of the parisshe Church of Seynt Margarete Patens in London, that where he on Seynt Margarete Day last past, resceyved and toke to his owne propre use in the right of the said Church the offerynges, obventions and other profites belongyng to the parson of the said Church for the tyme beyng, as was and is lawfull to hym to do, and as he and all his predecessours, parsons of the said Church, from tyme that no mynde is contrary, have don and perceyved, John Mounde and Thomas Alisaunder, Churchewardeyns of the said Church, for the said offerynges have attamed an accion of accompt upon the receipt of .xx. marc ayenst your said Oratour before the Shireffs of London, and by myght entende to have him condempned in the same to the grete hurte of your said besecher and lykly disheryson of the said Church. Wherfor please it your goode and gracious lordship the premisses considered and in help and releif of Holy Church, to graunt unto your said besecher a writte of *certiorare* directe to the said Shireffs etc.

The following touches upon another method of raising money for church purposes:

^a In the bill he is called cousin to John Broun, but the word "cousin" is written over an erasure.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 146, No. 48.

Humbly shewythe and besechyth your good and gracyous lordshypp your dayly and contynuell Oratours, William Lucasse and Rychard Tailler, Wardennys and Kepars of the godes and ornamentes of the Chyrche of Seynt Jemys at Pulloxhyll withyn the Counte of Bedford, that where as one John Russell of Pulloxhyll aforeseyd with dyvers other persons, toke upon them to make a play and so dyd withyn the same Towne, and the profyttys therof comyng they promysed shuld be to the use and behuf of the seyde Chyrche of Pulloxhyll. The seyde John reseyvyng of dyvers persons at the same play of ther good devociouns whiche they had to the seyde Chyrche .iiij. *li.* of lawfull money of England. Wheche .iiij. *li.* the seyde Churchwardens oftyn tymes hathe requeryd of the seyde John to the use of the seyde Chyrche accordyng to hys promyse, and that to do the seyde John at all tymes hathe denyde and yet denythe, to the grete hynderyng of reparacyon of the seyde Chyrche and of other ornamentes of the same. And for as moche as your seyde Oratours be without remedy for eny recovere of the seyde .iiij. *li.* to be had by the course of the Comyn Lawe, pleasyth yt your grace the premyssez tenderly consyderd to graunte a wrete of *sub pena* to be dyrectyd to the seyde John, commaundyng hym by the same to appere before your lordshypp yn the Kyngys Chauncere ther to answeere to the premyssez at a certeyn day and under a certeyn payne etc.

There are numerous references to bequests to parish churches, which sometimes were the ground of parochial discord.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 244, No. 74.

In most humble wyse besechith your good and gracious lordship your poer Oratours John Playford, vicary of the parish chyrche of Upchyrche in the Counte of Kent, Thomas Baldok and Thomas Laurence, wardens of the seid chyrche, that where one John Osbarne, beyng possessid in an of a mese and certeyn londe with appurtenaunce in Upchirche aforeseid and Halstow, and so therof beyng seasid of great trust enfeffed on John Wreke with other now dede to the use of your seid Oratour and to thentent to performe his last will; which John Osbarne made his last will and dyed, and by the same willid that the seid mese and londe shuld remayne aftir the deth of Johane his wyfe to Thomas his son upon condicion that the seid Thomas and his heiris shall fynde or cause to be founde in the seid parish of Upchyrche for evyr at the Fest of Ester .xiiij. tapres afore the Sepulchre there to bren aftir the fourme and

manyr their used, and every taper to be of .iiij. *li.* weyght, also to fynde a tapre of a *li.* weyght afore Seynt John Baptist every yere in the seid church. Also the seid Thomas shall fynde and heis eyres for evyrmore a taper afore Seynt Sperabill^a of a *li.* wex, and also every yere the seid Thomas and heis heires shall fynde .ij. *li.* of wex to the Pascall in the same church. Also the seid John Osbarne willed be the seid will that immediatly aftir the deth of Johane his wyfe a croft conteynyng .iiij. acres in Halstow shuld remayne to the Sepulcre light of Halstowe, and therof to enfeffe such persons as your seid Oratours wull. It is so that your seid Oratours hath oftyn tymes requyred the seid John Wreke and that to do at all tymes hath refused and yet doth, contrary to right and good consciens. Wherefore the premysses consyderid and that your seid Oratours beyn withoute remedy by the course of the Comen Lawe, it wull please your lordship to graunt a writ *sub pena* to be directid to the seid John Wreke, comaundyng hym by the same to appere byfore the Kyng in his Chauncery etc.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 98, No. 17.

Mekely besechyn your good and gracious lordshipp your poore Oratours Richard Joy and Henry Joy of the Towne of Southwold in the Counte of Suffolk, executours of the testament of John Joy, where the seid John by his last wille bequethed to the honour of Almyghty God and adurnyng of his Church towards the making of a Crismatorie for the seid Church .xij. *li.* which late restid in the keping of your seid Oratours. And for perfourmyng of the seid good dede they had communicacion with oon Sir John Hopton, their vicar, which promysed to purveie to the seid Church a Crismatorie that noon shuld be like unto yt in Suffolk. And after the same the seid Vicar bargayned with a goldsmyth at Cambrigge and agreed, as he seid, to gif to the seid goldsmyth for the seid Crismatorie .xviij. *li.* And theruppon wrote with his owne hand to your Besechers of the seid bargeyn, shewyng ferthermore he had .iiij. sufficient men bounde for the seid goldsmyth that he shulde perfourme his bargeyn. And forasmoche as the same Vicar wrote ferthermore by his letre that he had bought .iiij. skore unces of broke sylver at .iiij. *s.* the unce, and also that the goldsmyth wolde have summe mony in honde, he praied your besechers to send hym by his servaunt, bringer of the seid letre, .viij. *li.* .xiiij. *s.* .iiij. *d.* promysyng to aunswere theym therof, as in the same letre redy to be shewid apperith more at large. Uppon trust

^a I cannot find in the calendar any saint of this name, though it is frequently mentioned in connexion with Upchurch, as I am informed by Mr. Leland L. Duncan. In a paper in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xxv. 88, the late Mr. Cumberland Woodruff suggests that St. Spiridion is meant. This saint was bishop of Trimithus in Cyprus in the fourth century, and is commemorated on December 14 by the Latin Church, and on December 12 by the Greek Church. This suggestion does not commend itself to me as probable, but I can make no other.

of which promeis and writyng and for the good zele which they had to the Churche in this behalf, your besechers delyvered to his seid servaunt the seid .viiij. li. xiiij. s. .iiij. d. which mony came hooly to the hondes of the seid Vicar, as the same servaunt shall testefie afore your good lordship. And howe be yt the day of appoyntment of making and fynysshyng of the seide Crismatorie is past over a hole yere or more, and your besechers have ofte tymes requyred the seid Vicar to delyver theym the seid Crismatorie redy made or ellis to relyver theym the seid .viiij. li. xiiij. s. .iiij. d., yet he that to do hath refusid and yet refusith. And forasmoche as your besechers have none Endentures of covenaut of delyvere of the seid money to the seid Vicar ne other especialte sufficient to demand the seid money at the Comen Lawe, they ar without remedy on lesse your gracious ayde to theym be shewid in this behalf. Pleas yt therfore your gracious lordshipp in augmentyng of honour of Goddes Churche, and that hereafter lay people ther may be the gladder and bettir willed to helping of ornamentes of the seid Churche, to graunt a writte *sub pena* direct to the seid Vicar, etc.

Fifteen centuries of Christianity had not yet killed the common belief in witchcraft, especially in the recovery of stolen goods.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 154, No. 50.

Piteously shewithe unto youre goode and gracious lordeship Ser William Paule, parisshe prest of the Churche of Seynt Andrewe in Holborne in the suburbes of London, that where the .xij.th day of February, the furste yere of the reigne of our Sovereigne lorde the Kynge that now is, .iiij. persones evill disposid came in to the Churche yarde of the foresaid Churche takyng tuicion of the same for felony. And oone of them than and there caste over a pale annexid un to the personage sette within the seid Churche yarde, a walett otherwise called a bagge, in the whiche was conteigned a stondyng cuppe, parcell thereof gylte, with a cover to the same, a stondyng notte gylte with a cover to the same, a flatte pease of silver and a maser with a narow bande; the whiche walett or bagge and goodes soe caste over the seid pale came by informacioun and notise unto your seid Oratour by oone Thomas Bremyngham, Sherman, dwellyng ayenst the seid parisshe Churche of Seynt Andrewe, by force of whiche the said walett or bagge and goodes came to the possession of your seid Oratour and no thyng ellis. And mediatly after that came oone Thomas Fereby of London, goldesmythe, unto your seid Oratour, seying the seid goodes to be his and by the seid .iiij. persones from hym felonysly stolen. Whereupon your seid Oratour, gevyng credence unto the seid Thomas, delyverid unto hym the .xiiij.th day of February, the yere abovesaid, at the seid Churche of Seynt Andrewe in Holbourne the seid walett or bagge and goodes abovesaid. And than and there he was right wele satisfied and content with the premisses. And sithen that tyme the seid Thomas seyde and yett seithe that he myssithe

many other goodes, the whiche your seid Oratour never hadde nor sawe, as he wille answere before Almyghty God, more than were conteigned in the walett or bagge aforesaid, which be above expressid; for the whiche the seid Thomas Fereby hathe causid diverse nigromansiers to calkell for the same. The whiche have concludid as he seithe that your seid Oratour shulde have the seid goodes by hym soe surmysid, the whiche is in no wise true. And now the seid Thomas hathe brought an accion of trespasse before the Kyngis Jugges of the Commyn Place at Westminster ayenst the seid your Oratour, as well of the goodes by your seid Oratour to hym delyverd, as it is aforesaid, as of the seid goodis by hym surmysyd, the whiche came never to his possession. Surmysyng in the same accion that your seid Oratour withe force and armes shulde take alle the seid goodis oute of the possession of the seid Thomas in the parisshe of Seynt Petyr in Chepe to his hurte and damages of a .c. marke, intyndyng by the same accion and by myght and power there to have your seid Oratour condempned in grete summes of mony ayenst all right and goode conscience, unto the utterest ondoynge of your seid Oratour, without your goode lordeship to hym be shewen in this behalf. Wherefor please it your goode and gracious lordeship the premisses tenderly to considre and to graunte a writte of *sub pena* undyr a certen payne in the same to be conteigned to be directid to the seid Thomas Fereby, commaundyng hym by the same to appere before the kyng in his High Courte of Chauncery at a certen day as it shalle please your goode lordeship to lymytte, and than and there to have an injunccion by your goode lordeship that he nor noe persone for hym procede no ferther in this accion in this behalfe ayenst your seid Oratour, untill the tyme hit be duly examyned before youre good lordeship, accordyng to ryght and goode conscience. And this at the reverence of Almyghty God and in the wey of Charite.

The Answer of Thomas Fereby to the byll of William Paule.

The seid Thomas seith that the matter conteyned in the seid bill is matter determynable at the comen lawe and not in this court of the Chauncery. And for answer seyth that treue it is that the .xij.th day of February conteyned in the seid bill, .iiij. evyll disposed persons toke and bere away the goodes specyfied in the seid bill and diverse oder goodes and plate of the same Thomas to the value of .xl. *li.* specified in his seid accion, and the same goodes and plate bare frome the dwellyng hous of the seid Thomas Fereby in the Chepe of London into the seid Church zerd, the same Thomas Fereby them fressshely ensuyng, so that the seid evyll disposed persons, seyng that they coud in no wyse escape frome the same Thomas, weyved and cast all the seid plate and goodes over the seid pale within the Church zerd aforesaid annexed to the dwellyng hous of the seid William Pale, and the same goodes and plate were ther so lokked and closed that the same Thomas Fereby coud in no wyse atteyn to come to his seid goodes without licence and suffrance of the seid William Pale. Whereupon the same Thomas Fereby, perceyvyng and knowyng his seid goodes and plate to be cast over the seid pale and closed within the same, as is afore rehersed, desyred the seid William Pale to suffre the same Thomas to go within the same pale to fech and have his seid

goodes, which William for no request ne desyre wold suffre the same Thomas so to do, but the same William, more lyk a miscreant then a Crysten preste, untruly affermed and swered unto the same Thomas Fereby and to many oder credible persons both by the Holy Sacrement that he had used and the Wholy Masse and by many oder gret othes, not many gretter hard, that the seid plate and goodes were not cast within the seid pale, and or that the seid William wold suffre the seid Thomas Fereby or any oder for hym to come within the seid pale to fech his seid goodes, and the seid William and Thomas Byrmyngham wrongfully toke the same goodes and plate and devyded it betwen them. And after that the seid Thomas diverse tymes made gret instance and labyr to his gret hurt, cost and charge unto the seid William and Thomas Byrmyngham to delyver unto hym his seid goodes and plate, and thei that to do utterly refused, as well the seid William as the seid Thomas Byrmyngham, sweryng by as gret othes as Crysten men may here that they had no parte therof. And after that aboute the .xviij. th day of February then next ensuyng, the seid goodes specyfyed in the seid bill were founden in the seid dwellyng place of the forseid William berried in the erth at his beddes fote, as hit shalbe sufficiently proved before your lordship, and the resydue of the goodes and plate specefyed in the seid accion the forseid William and Thomas yet wrongfully have and kepe as it shalbe sufficiently proved before your lordship. All which mattys the seid Thomas Fereby is redy to prove as this Court will awarde, and prayeth to be dismissed out of this court with his resonabyll costes and damages for his wrongfull vexacion in this behalf.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 66, No. 296.

Humble besecheth your good lordship John Knyght, chapellayn, tenderly to conside that where it pleased the kyng our soveraigne lord to commaunde your said Oratour amonge other of his liege people and servauntes of the Lorde Straunge to goo and make serche in Suthwerk within the Countie of Surrie for oon Alyce the wyfe of John Huntley, which of long tyme hath used and exercised the feetes of Wycheecraft and Sorsery ayenst the lawe of the Chirche and of the kyng. Wherupon your said besecher by auctoritie of the said commaundement went with the said lord Straunge servauntes into an house called 'The Lasour Loke' in Suthwerk in Kent Strete, and there founde dyverses mamettes for wycheecraftes and enchaumentementez, with other stuffe beryed and depely hydd under the erthe. The which be redy to be shewed before youre good lordship. And it is soo now, gracious lord, that your said Oratour withoute eny cause resonable is arrested and hath ben by the space of .vi. dayes kept in dyvers prisoness. And howe beit that he hath offered sufficient suerte to aunswere to all maner of accions, kan not be let to bayle but is brought withoute eny maner cause, as if aforsaid, into the Marchalsie, contrary to the fourme of the statute,

where nether party is of the Kynges House, ayenst all reason and conscience. Pleaseth therfore your good lordship, the premisses considered, to graunte a *corpus cum causa* to be directe unto the Steward of the said Marchalsie, etc.

The word "necromancy" is spelt here as it often is at this period, "nigromancy." One cannot exactly say that "it assimilates a vernacular origin," to use a phrase of which my old schoolmaster, Professor Hewitt Key, was very fond, but at least it may be said to assimilate a familiar origin, the Greek word being misspelt to make it look like a Latin word.

The English phrase "black art," which is not known to occur, I believe, before the latter half of the sixteenth century, is no doubt intended for an accurate translation of nigromancy.

I have added a few other bills referring to the same subject, though they do not all concern the clergy.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 267, No. 41.

Humble sheweth unto your good lordshipp your Oratour John Bysshopp of Seynt Davides, that at hys fyrst comyng ynto his dioces he was enformed that a gentleman called Thomas Wyriott, his wedded wyf beyng a lyf, kept a woman called Tanglost Verch Glin', wife unto one David Lloyd, yet beyng a lyf, in opyn advoutre yn his one house. Uppon the which informacion he called the said Thomas and Tanglost before hym, to whom your said Oratour mynestred dyverse articulys concernyng the same mater, which they cowde not denye but confessed the same. And therupon your seid Oratour charged the said Weriott uppon the payne of sensurys of the Churche not to be adherent or company with the said Tanglost yn any suspecte place. That notwithstanding he kept hir styll yn his house the space of two yer or more. Wherfor your seid Oratour denounced them both occursed, and also toke the said Tanglost and put hir in ward within his castyll of Lawhaden. The said Thomas Wyriott heryng therof, he hym self and other riottous persones to the nowmbre of .xxiiij. came by night season and bracke his said castell, and toke the said Tanglost with hym home and put away his wedded wif, and wold not suffre hir to have anything resonable to fynde her withall; which afterward died, and as the comen voyce and fame rennyth in the countre, was distroyed with wycheecraft by the meanse of the seid Tanglost. Your said Oratour, heryng of this riottes delyng, toke the said Tanglost eftsones and send hir to his said Castyll the .ij.^d tyme, att which tyme the said Thomas Wyriott came to your said Oratour and desyred hym to be assoled and was sworn upon the holy Evangelyst never

to company nor felyshipp with the said Tanglost in any suspecte place, nor to committe advoutre with her from that day forward; and also bound hym self, John Vogan, knight, and John Eynon, squier, in an obligacion of .c. li. to fulfyll the same. Therupon he banesshed the said Tanglost oute of his dioces, at which tyme she went unto Bristowe and ther hyred a woman called Margaret Hackett, which was practized in wycheecraft, to distrew your said Oratour by the same wycheecraft, because he wold not suffre the said Thomas and hir to lyve yn advoutre to geder. And so the said Tanglost retourned ageyn unto the said Thomas, and the vyche which she hadd hiered, with hir. And with in the same Thomas place in a chambre called Paradise Chamber, the said Tanglost and Margaret made and ordeyned .ij. ymages of wax at the costes and charges of the said Thomas to distrow hym, as it appereth by the confession of the said Margaret made before Thomas priour of Monkton yn Pembroke, Mr. Richard Rayder, doctour of bothe lawes, John Walter, gent. chaunceler of Pembroke, and dyverse odyr. Yet they nothyng content therwithall send for another woman which they thought cowde and hadd more connyng and experiens than they had, and made the .iiij.^d ymage to distrew your said orator. He havynge knolegge of this inordinat delyng, send to attache the said Tanglost. She heryng therof, fledde to Bristowe, where he caused her to be attached upon suspecions of heresy, and ther was examyned by .iiij. Doctours of Devynyte. The said Doctours remytted hir correccion unto your said Oratour; and bycause he shuld not have her delyvered, the said Thomas Wyriott surmysed a fals accion of dette ayenst her and by hir confession was condempned, wherby she was stopped that your said Oratour cowde not have delyvere of hir. And forasmuche as the said Tanglost is by great mayntenaunce and labores of the said Weriott and his frendys conveyed from place to place to thentent that she shuld contynue in hir malicius disposicion and not to be directed aftir the lawes of Holy Churche, nother yet aftir the course of the Comen Lawe; it may therfore please your good lordship, the premyssez consydered and for save garde of the lyf of youre said Oratour, to graunte a *corpus cum causa* to be directed to the Meire and Shireffes of the Towne of Bristowe commaundyng them to bryng the body with the cause of the said Tanglost afore the Kyng yn his Courte of Chauncery under a certeyn payne and at a certen day by your good lordshipp to be lymitted, and also to graunte a *sub pena* to be directed to the said Thomas Wyriott under a certen payne and at a certen day by your good lordshipp to be lymytted to aunswere to the premyssez, and forther to do as the said Courtte shall awarde etc.

This is thaunswere of Tanglost William to the bille of compleynt of John Busshope of
Seynt Davyes.

The seid Tanglost seith that the seid bille is insufficient and uncerteyn to be aunswerd unto, and only fayned of malice, and of no trouth, and the mater theryn is determyned in the Spirituall Court, and nat in this Court. Wherof she prayeth allowance and to be remytted therunto. Netherles, the avauntage therof to hir saved, for the declaracion of trouth she sith that she is nat gilty of any witchecraft, as by the seid bille is supposed. And as to the

resydewe comprised in the seid bille, she seith that she is confessid therof and hath don penance therfore. All which maters the seid Tanglost is redy to prove as this Court wille award, and prayeth to be dismyssed oute of this Court with hir resonable costes and damages susteyned in that behalf.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 229, No. 20.

Humble besechyth your most goode and gracious lordship your humble suppliant William Tyndale, knyght, that where ther was an affyauns of mariage to be hadde accordyng to the lawe of Holy Church betwen your seyde suppliant and Mary Grenakyr, now wyef to your seyde suppliaunt, oon William Carrowe, knyght, of pur males and covetus mynde aftyr the seyde affiauns of mariage, schewed unto the kyng oure sovereign lorde that the seyde Mary usyd wytchecraft and socery ageyn the lawe of the Church, and ther upon opteyned a commaundement of the kyngges grace to take the seyde Mary and brynge hyr to answer for the same. And therupon the seyde William Carrowe sent .xx. persones defencibly arayed with grete myght and force in riotus wyse to the seyde Mary Grenaker, sche beyng in the church heryng dyvyne service, toke her from thens and conveyed hyr to the dwellyng place of the seyde William Carrowe, knyght, and ther he dyde raunsake hyr surmysyng that sche hadde on hyr wrytyng of socery and wytchecraft, and thret hyr with many dyvers maliciouse wordes that sche was in grete fere. Howebeit he coud fynd in hyr no defawte, and so kept her styll and wold not suffyr hyr to go to bayle ner maynpryse, howebeit ther was offerd for hyr sufficient suyrte to have brought hyr to declar hyr self of the same, the which offyr the seyde Sir William refused with owte your seyde suppliant wold gyf to the seyde Sir William Carrowe .xx. *li.* Wherfor your seyde suppliant made labur to the kyngges grace for hyr by meanes of his frendes, and opteyned the kynges honorable lettres directed to the seyde Sir William Carrowe, commaundyng hym by the same to suffyr hyr to goo at hyr large. And that notwythstondyng he wold not suffyr hyr to depart from hym unto the tyme that your seyde suppliant was bounde to hym in a symple obligacion conteynyng the summe of .x. *li.* to be payed to the seyde Sir William Carrowe at a certen day nowe past. And thanne the seyde Sir William Carrowe sent hyr to the dwellyng place of your seyde Suppliant with .iij. .xx. persones in harnes defencibly arrayed with bowes, arrowes etc. And they wold not delyver hyr at hyr large unto the tyme that your seyde Suppliant confesseyd to them the seyde obligacion to be hys dede. It is so nowe, most graciouse lorde, that the seyde Sir William Carrowe hath an accion hangyng ageyn your seyde Suppliant at the Comen Lawe upon the seyde obligacion ageynst all right and goode conciens. Pleasith it therfor your grace, the premyssees tenderly considered, and in consideration that your seyde Suppliant hath no remedy of and for the premyssees by the cours of the Comen Lawe, to graunt a writ of *sub pena* to be directed to the seyde Sir William Carrowe knyght, etc.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 61, No. 410.

Humbely besechith your gracious lordship your pore and contynuell Orature, John Holond, husbondman, servaunt in the Abbey of Wodebreche in the counte of Suffolk, for as moche that one Rogger Page by his grete malice hath surmysed upon your pore suppliant to have brokyn his hous and robbid hym, as it was tellid hym by negremaunsers, the contrarie of whiche is trewe, as all the neyghbours of your saide suppliant woll recorde, and that he is of gode name and fame. By force of which untrewes surmyse your saide suppliant is arrested by the constables of Wodbrigge and brought to the baillifs of the franchise of the Busshop of Ely of Melton, and he, all be it he hath offered sufficient surete, there is kept in prison upon the saide wrongfull suggestion ayenste all lawe, reason and conscience to his utterest undoyng without your gracious lordship be shewed to hym in this behalve. Please it therefore the same your gracious lordship in consideracion of the premisses to graunte a writte of *Corpus cum causa* directe to the said baillifs etc.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 266, No. 18.

Humbly shewith and petously compleynith unto your good lordship your daily oratour William Lee of the Cite of Coventre, that wher .xl. *li.* of money was takyn and withdrawyn from oon John Haddon of the seid cite, draper, as the seid John hath reported and seid; wheruppon the seid John, to gete knowlege of the takers of the seid money, caused certeyn persons usyng the craftes of Sorcery, Wychcraftes and Nygromancy to inquire by ther craftes of the takers of the seid money, and theruppon the seid persons usyng the seid unlawfull craftes advysed and conseyllid the seid John Haddon to take and examyn your seid oratour for withdrawyng of the seid money, for as moche as they perceyved that your seid oratour used and ware such garmentes and clothyng as they determyned by ther unlawfull wychcraftes that the takers of the seid money had and used at the tyme of the takyng of the seid money. And theruppon the seid John Haddon, havynge non other cause a yen your seid Oratour nor mater of susseccyon, arested and put in prison your seid Oratour and kept hym ther by the space of a moneth and more. And affyr this the seid John, havynge non other cause nor nothyng of untroth coude prove a yen your seid Oratour, suffered hym to depart and go at his large. And affir this the seid John Haddon, intendynge the forther vexacion and trobill of your seid Oratour, aseinyd a pleynt of trespas afore the Meyre and Shreffys of the seid Cite a yen your seid Oratour sen the takyng of the seid money, supposyng that your seid Oratour the Wedynsday next before the Fest of the

Anuncyacyon of Oure Lady last past toke and bere a wey the seid money. In the whiche pleynt of trespas your seid Oratour is lyke to be condempned, for as moche as your seid Oratour is in poverté and the seid John Haddon is of gret myght and power and gret alyaunce in the seid Cite. Wherfore and for as moch as the seid cause of trespas and the seid wrongfull arestyng and keypyng of your seid Oratour in prison was by mene and jugement of the seid persons usyng the seid unlawfull craftes of nygromancy and wychcraft, to whom credence ought not to be geven, for that is contrary to the feyth of Holy Chirch. In consyderacyon wherof that it wold plesse your good lordship to graunt a *certiorare* to be directed to the seid Meyre and Shereffes etc.

The last which I shall give you describes how a parish priest made provision for his old age.

EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

Bundle 299, No. 43.

Humbly shewith unto your good lordship Mr. John Carpenter, clerke, late parson of Compton Bassett in the countie of Wiltes, that where as abought a .iiij. yeris past the same John by dede gave to one William White of Compton beforesaid all such movable goodes as the said Mr. John Carpenter at that tyme had, apon condicion that the same William White shold honestly fynd hym mete and drynke duryng his life, for that the same Mr. Carpenter was of so grete age and feblenes that he cowde not that tyme nor yet can not helpe hym selfe. And for a more suertye caused to be made a dede of gift of all the same goodes; and that delyvered unto the same William with the condicion before said in the same dede conteyned, which goodes were of the valour of .xx.^{li} markes.

So it is that now the said William White refuseth to fynd or kepe the said Mr. Carpenter acordyng to the said agremente and condicion, to the gret trobull and disese of the said Mr. Carpenter, and to the great jopardy of his lif and utter distruction, savyng for the charite that other well disposed persons shew unto hym in consideracion of his very grete age. It may plesse therfore your goode lordshipe, in so moche as the said Mr. Carpenter can not take avauntage of the said condicion to have remedy ayenst the said William by wey of action after the course of the common law, by cause it was by dede polled whiche remayneth in the keypyng of the said William, and all so for that he is of such extreme feblenes that he cannot helpe hym by the wey of seysor of his said goodes, and also dyvers of the same goodes be altered and wasted, to graunt a writ *sub pena* to be directid to the said William White commaundyng hym by the same to be and personally apere before the kynge in his Chauncery at a certeyn day to answer to the premisses.

XIV. *Notes on Sculptures in Lincoln Minster : The Judgment Porch and the Angel Choir.* By W. R. LETHABY, Esq., F.S.A.

Read 6th December, 1906.

THE JUDGMENT PORCH.

THREE chief subjects are dealt with in the sculptures of medieval portals: Christ in Judgment, the Virgin Enthroned with the Infant Christ, and the Coronation of the Virgin. Of these the first is the most important.

As in many other points the thought devoted to the erection of the abbey church of St. Denis seems to have set almost a canon for portal sculptures. The great central tympanum of its west front is occupied by the Majesty. Round about are three angels carrying the instruments of the Passion, the Cross, the Crown of Thorns, and the Nails. At the side the Virgin appeals for mercy, and below are the Apostles, while the general Resurrection is figured on the lintel. In the orders of the arch is Paradise, and there the twenty-four elders appear carrying musical instruments and vases holding the prayers of the just. On the jambs are the Wise and Foolish Virgins. This door was erected about 1142, and later variations of the composition may be counted by scores in France, Germany, Italy (Parma), and Spain (St. James of Compostella).

I can only here mention further the great classical examples of the cathedral churches of Paris and Amiens before turning to our most representative example at Lincoln. The tympanum of the middle west door at Paris has a magnificent Majesty, attended by angels who bear the Cross and spear. Below is the resurrection and the separation of the Blessed from the Lost, who are being bound

together by a chain. The arch orders make up a heavenly host in attendance on the great scene, forming in successive rows a sort of aureole to it, comprising angels, prophets, confessors, martyrs, virgins. Below, on the mid-post of the door,^a stands Christ, and on the jambs are the Wise and Foolish Virgins. To the right and left, against the sloping sides of the porch, are statues of the Twelve Apostles.

The middle door of Amiens agrees very closely with this of Notre Dame, and both were executed about 1220. In the latter we have the Majesty and the instruments of the Passion above, and the resurrection and separation below; also the Christ of the mid-post, the Wise and Foolish Virgins on the jambs, and the great images of the Apostles. The eight orders of the arch are sculptured again into an assemblage of the Church Triumphant:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. The inner order is of Angels. | 5. Virgins and female saints. |
| 2. The Elect carried by angels. | 6. The Elders bearing musical instruments. |
| 3. Martyrs on thrones. | 7. A Jesse tree. |
| 4. Confessors on thrones. | 8. Patriarchs. ^b |

On the doors at Laon, Rheims, and Treves devoted to our subject the Wise and Foolish Virgins find a place in the arch order.

The south door at Lincoln is a member of the group of Judgment porches, and follows I have no doubt the Paris-Amiens tradition, but I think that an intermediate link has been lost, and that the north porch at Westminster was that link. Put in the briefest way, my reasons for this are, that it is clear to me that the transept of the abbey was influenced by Amiens, that we have record that the statues about the porch were of the twelve apostles and a multitude of small figures, that the work at Lincoln is generally acknowledged to owe much to the inspiration of Westminster,^c and that early drawings of the abbey porch show a quatrefoil in the tympanum, which like that at Lincoln was probably also filled by a Majesty and two attendant angels.

The tympanum at Lincoln is encroached upon by two arches over the pair of doors. Above in the middle is a quatrefoil forming a glory to the Christ

^a Cf. what was said of the sculptured door of St. James of Compostella in the description of the Imagery at Wells (*Archæologia*, lix. 174, note ^a).

^b G. Durand.

^c An additional point, unknown to Sir Gilbert Scott, is the fact that there were at Westminster narrow blank arches on either side of the clerestory windows just like those of the clerestory of Lincoln.



SCULPTURES ON THE SOUTH PORCH OF LINCOLN MINSTER.

enthroned within, together with two attendant angels.^a The Christ is of fine scale, full 6 feet high, although seated. The posture is very skilfully managed, the thighs are short and very upright, so that the upper part of the figure is not thrown back but comes forward to the front plane of the legs. This is done with such mastery that there is nothing strange in the result. The drapery is very fine, the tunic being bound around the middle by a girdle freely knotted in front. Around the quatrefoil are seven angels most beautifully disposed; five bear up as it were the quatrefoil and two others worship. Two more on the left turn outwards, calling those who are rising from their tombs below. On the right, Christ's left hand, an angel repels the lost. Waiting devils bind them and thrust them into hell-mouth at the bottom of the composition.^b The sculptures follow the jointing of the masonry in a remarkable way; both must have been designed by one man.

All three figures within the quatrefoil have been subjected to a most unfortunate restoration. The noble Christ has a new head and arms, and the angels new heads, hands, and censers. Fortunately there is a cast of this group in the Victoria and Albert Museum representing its pre-restoration state. The right arm of the Christ was broken away, but it must have been upraised to expose His side. The left crossed over the breast and drew back the tunic, thus showing the wound. This arm, which had been free from the body, was also broken away, but just the attachment of the fingers on the drawn-back drapery can be traced. The angels at the side are in attitudes of adoration, and have outstretched arms. These have now been restored so as to swing censers, but there is no sign on the cast of there having been attachments of such features, which are entirely modern inventions. The action of Christ in exposing His side and the whole scene call for further allusions to the Passion and the signs of Christ's appearing, and it may not be doubted that the angels originally held cross and spear, or cross and crown of thorns. The accompanying illustration (Plate XXXIV.) from a photograph taken^c before the "restoration" shows which of the figures were complete about 1870.

In the Golden Legend the events of the Second Advent are given thus:

I. The descent of the Judge; II. The separation of the chosen and reprov'd, with the former joining the assembly of saints ("They be judges by cause they

^a All three are set in separately.

^b The treatment of the subject should be compared with the painted glass of the rose window in the north transept, where Hell (now lost) was evidently at the bottom of the circle. See *Archæological Journal*, xiv. 211-220, and *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, xi. 89-94.

^c By Messrs. Hadley and on of Lincoln.

be present approving the Judgment"); III. The showing of the tokens of the Passion, the cross and the nails and the wounds.

In the Byzantine Painters' Manual we are told that the Second Coming should be represented with Christ clothed in white; before him appears the cross, symbol of his manifestation. The heavenly hosts celebrate His glory. All the saints are seated on the clouds: 1, the Apostles; 2, our First Parents; 3, Patriarchs; 4, Prophets; 5, Bishops; 6, Martyrs; 7, Saints; 8, Righteous Kings; 9, Martyred Women.

The written word thus agrees with the tradition of foreign sculpture on this point, so it does with the few English examples which remain. In a contemporary example of the Last Judgment which occurs in the Angel Choir we have Christ attended by angels bearing instruments of the Passion.

At the crown of the beautiful Norwich door are also the Majesty and angels bearing cross and spear. A similar composition exists above the middle door of Lichfield, and there is no doubt in my mind that this Lichfield door is an impoverished adaptation of the Lincoln portal. Thus at Amiens and Lichfield, the beginning and end of a series, we have angels with symbols of the Passion.^a

We have seen also that the texts and analogous examples require an assembly of saints to assist in the great action. At Amiens we even have the point of the angels bearing the approved to their places.

At Lincoln we find the tradition maintained. When by the kindness of the Dean I was allowed to examine the arch orders from a scaffolding, I was delighted to find, not only the heavenly hierarchy present, but also the Wise and Foolish Virgins. I will transcribe my notes on these arch-orders:

I. Outer ring of splendid open carved foliage in which are set eight women to the left; on the right, eight men.

II. Middle order is a roll of open-work foliage.

III. The inner order has on the left six figures under canopies, all women, some queens; one carries a bird. To the right are six kings.

The eight women of the outer order are the Wise and Foolish Virgins.^b The first figure at the bottom has lost its lamp, but the attachment for an inverted lamp remains; the second and third still hold their inverted lamps. The upper ones have all lost their lamps, but it is clear that the Foolish were at the bottom

^a The west door at Holyrood was also very probably an early member of the group derived from Westminster. The whole style and the frieze of angels suggests so much.

^b There is nothing uncommon in having a short series. See *Revue de l'art Chrétien*, 1906, 3rd part.

and the Wise above; either three and five or four and four. The lamps are exactly like those at Amiens, Sens, etc.

The men of the opposite outer half-arch are dignified draped figures, having bearded heads and bare feet; all seem to have carried books, some of which remain. They are Prophets or Apostles, almost certainly the latter.

The inner row of queens and other women on the left must be Virgins. The queen at the bottom holds a book; the next has a dove or falcon.

The six kings of the inner row on the right are in energetic attitudes on X-shaped thrones, having the terminations of animals' heads and paws. They are probably the English king-martyrs as representing the whole class. Taken together the arch orders may be described as containing an assembly of witnesses to the Last Judgment, Apostles, Martyrs, Virgins, also the Wise and the Foolish Virgins.^a The appropriateness of the presence of the last need not be pointed out. Speaking of those at Amiens, M. Durand says they very often are present in scenes of the Last Judgment, although it is not obligatory. Conversely, where they do occur, it is usually in connexion with the Second Advent.^b



Fig. 1. Sketch of one of the Foolish Virgins, showing the inverted lamp.

Leaving now the tympanum and coming to the sculptured images below, we find to the right and left two figures on each jamb. The inner pair, one on each side, face one another, and have a good deal in common; both are female figures, but they are rather impersonations than saints. Both have lost their heads, and the left-hand figure has also lost any attribute it may once have had, but it is sculptured as showing some characteristic action. The right-hand figure holds a building or church. Both these images are of quite extraordinary beauty. I made the suggestion some ten or twelve years ago that they represented the Church and the Synagogue, and this explanation was accepted by Mr. E. S. Prior.

^a Representations of the Wise Virgins appear as early as the fourth century in Roman cemeteries. In the twelfth century they are found on the arches of many sculptured doors in France. Hermann of Tournay says that the shrine of St. Piat in that city had the Wise and Foolish Virgins represented on it.

^b So at St. Denis, Chalons-sur-Marne, Sens, Paris, Amiens, Lincoln, Strasburg, Freiburg, Nuremberg, etc.

I wish now to carry this to a proof, and to show that we might expect such images here, that general comparison with other examples bears out the attribution, and that there is enough direct evidence associated with the statues to demonstrate the truth of the proposition.

I had felt one doubt before visiting Lincoln again and re-examining the matter. The statue I shall show to be of the Church is on the left of Christ and the Synagogue on the right, thus inverting the usual custom. There may be a reason, however, for this in that the Church may have led a great number of Christian saints while the Synagogue led personages of the Old Law. The space of frontage on Christ's right is small, while that to His left is great. The greater space may have been required for the New Law, the lesser for the Old. Such a reason would not apply, however, at Crowland, where there is another figure, almost a replica of the Lincoln Synagogue, again on the spectator's left. This possibly arose from following Lincoln, but without the reason. On the Judgment portal of St. James of Compostella the Prophets are on the right of Christ and the Apostles on the left.

The Church and the Synagogue were probably the two favourite impersonations of the early Middle Ages. They fittingly accompany scenes of Christ's Life and Passion, which were enacted, as it were, between the two spectators, one ceasing its work, the other beginning.

They most frequently appear on representations of the Crucifixion. In the Victoria and Albert Museum there are no less than three ivories and an enamel where they are found. At St. Alban's Abbey they occupied a place on the rood beam, and I have no doubt that the figure of the Synagogue at Howden, which is said to have come from the rood loft, belonged to a Crucifixion group.^a At Chartres these two typical figures were in the Nativity porch. In the glass at Canterbury they accompanied some scenes from the Life of Christ. At Strasbourg they were associated with the death and coronation of the Virgin. The pair at Rochester stand on either side of a door, which has above the four Evangelists, then worshipping Angels, and at the middle the ascending spirit, apparently of the Virgin. In the Eton MS. pictures they appear as consummating a series of the Life of Christ, and Dr. James points out that they occurred also in the paintings of Worcester chapter-house.

These same types are just as appropriate at the Second Advent of Christ and the Judgment, which applies to those under the Old as well as to those under the

^a So also the figure in the feretory at Winchester.



(B) Figure representing the Synagogue.



(A) Figure representing the Church.

From photographs by G. Hadley & Son, Lincoln.

SCULPTURES ON THE SOUTH PORCH OF LINCOLN MINSTER.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

New Law. The most remarkable example of this is the great western portal of Notre Dame before described. Here two large images of the Church and Synagogue stood, on either hand of the Doom in the tympanum, upon the faces of the buttress piers. They occur again at Amiens, but in a much less marked way, on the Doom tympanum itself. In the middle of the lower part of that composition is St. Michael, and on either side of him two small figures which Durand shows to be the same impersonations. It has before been said that the Lincoln door stands related to these doors at Amiens and Paris.

I must now describe the Lincoln figures. (Plate XXXV.)

STATUE A.—That of the Church is a most noble statue, dignified in pose and quietly draped to the feet. The head is broken off, also the right arm, which was upraised, and probably grasped a long staff. The left hand holds high against the bosom the model of a church, and at the same time supports the supertunic and draws it sufficiently aside to create diagonal folds. The Church most frequently carries a chalice, but in the English example at Rochester it is also a building which is her symbol, and this was the case before the faulty restoration of the Rochester figures, as is proved by reference to sketches of John Carter's at the British Museum,^a and the engraving in Thorpe's *Custumale Roffense*.^b

STATUE B.—The Synagogue stands in an attitude suggestive of energetic action. She is richly clothed with a fringed supertunic clasped at the throat with a fine brooch, and girded at the waist with a fringed scarf tied into a large loose knot. The head is broken, but a part of the neck remains, and portions of abundant disordered hair. The right arm, which is entirely broken away from the shoulder, was free and raised high. The left arm with the hand is entire, and the gesture of this hand is most curious and significant. It is held below the waist, and yet with the palm downwards, at the same time as it grasps at a large fold of the mantle, which for the most part is broken away. Turning to illustrations of figures of the Synagogue, it appears that this is her typical action as the Tables of the Law fall from her hand. This is the case with all the three examples figured by Viollet le Duc, it is so with the fine painting in York chapter-house, and it is so with the Rochester figure. It is plain from this comparison that the figure grasped at her rich raiment and dropped the tables of Moses, which would have been carved on the loose fold of the mantle, now broken away. (See

^a Add. 29925. Both heads were lost, all hands were perfect. Church held building and part of staff; Synagogue inverted tables and part of staff. In some foreign examples the Church carries a chalice, in others a building. In the glass at Bourges the Church is figured as at Lincoln.

^b Plate XII. p. 175.

sketch, Fig. 2.) To complete the action, the upraised right hand would have clasped the staff, the eyes would have been bandaged, and probably a crown was falling from the head, as is the case with the York figure.

The pair of figures I have described are carried by sculptured corbels. The

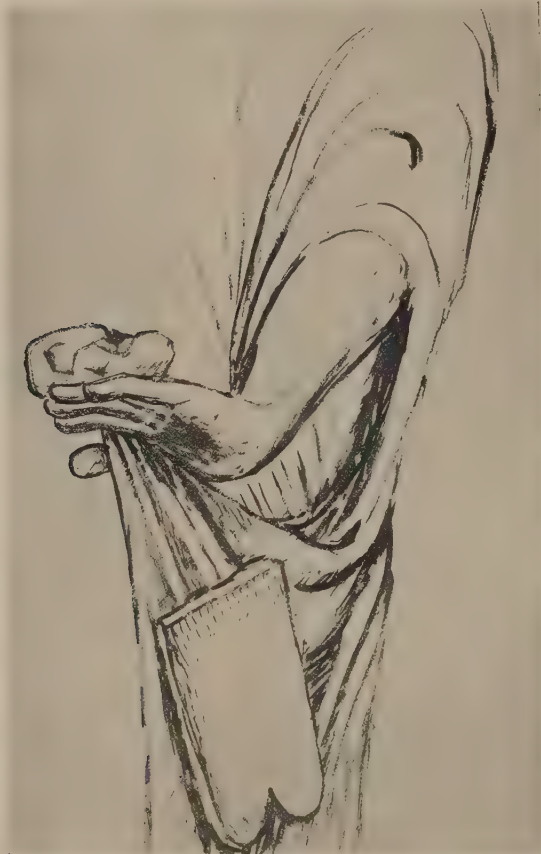


Fig. 2. Restored sketch showing the left hand of the figure of the Synagogue.

Church is upheld by an angel issuing from a cloud, and the Synagogue rests on a Jewish rabbi, who seems to find it a hard position. On his breast, as a brooch or symbol, are the Tables of the Law.^a

^a Viollet le Duc notes that at Bamberg there is a figure of Christ under the Church and of a Jew under the Synagogue. At Crowland the corbel sculptures are: under where the Church was 'an angel searching the Scriptures'; under the Synagogue, the Temptation in Eden.



(C) An Apostle, with the figure of the Synagogue (B) in profile.



(D) An Apostle, with the figure of the Church (A) in profile.

From photographs by G. Hadley & Son, Lincoln.

SCULPTURES ON THE SOUTH PORCH OF LINCOLN MINSTER.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

A beautiful thirteenth-century English Apocalypse in the possession of Mr. Yates Thompson has a pair of figures which may be thus described: On the left, under a trefoiled arch with turrets above it, sits the Church crowned and with a flag and a chalice into which a lamb sheds its blood. On the right is the Synagogue, under a humbler tabernacle, blindfold, with broken staff and dropping the Tables of the Law. In the middle stand four Old Testament worthies, one of whom offers a copy of the Old Testament to the Church, as desiring her to open it.

The subject is said to have arisen in Carlovingian times about the middle of the ninth century. Before this time the altercation between the Church and the Synagogue had been treated in a literary form in a work wrongly attributed to St. Augustine.^a

The earliest sculptured examples known to me in England are on the Southrop font. In the stained glass at St. Denis, Suger arranged a variation of the subject. Christ stands between the two figures with his arms extended, crowning the one and *removing the veil* from the other. The action being explained by the verses, "Quod Moyses velat, Christi doctrina revelat." A variation of this treatment, the "Unveiling of the Synagogue," is described by Dr. James as appearing in the Eton MS. Here the veil is removed by a hand from above, while the Decalogue sends out sprouts of vegetation.

Of the other external images at Lincoln I must speak very briefly. Two others on the outer faces of the buttresses at the side of the porch (C and D) are finely draped headless male figures. (Plate XXXVI.) They may be Apostles or Prophets, but following the line Amiens, Westminster, Lincoln, Lichfield, we may say that they were Apostles.^b They have been pushed aside a little by the added chapels. Further to the east by the other end of one of the chapels is a fine female figure with a restored head. The drapery of this figure caught up over the left arm, which is free from the body, is wonderfully skilful and very beautiful. Cockerell well speaks of its refinement "even to the fingers' ends." This statue must be by the same Master as the Church and Synagogue, and the three are, I have no doubt, the most perfectly accomplished external statues in England.

Still further east on the end buttress stand a King and Queen, or at least a pair of royal persons. These fine and dignified statues have both had their heads restored. The King tramples on a prostrate female figure largely

^a See Emile Mâle, *L'Art Religieux* (ed. 1898), 248.

^b Keepe, 1683, says the Twelve Apostles were at the Westminster portal. At Lichfield they filled the spaces "between three large and small doors." (John Jackson, junior, 1805.)

restored.^a Analogy with the English Royal Martyrs at Wells shows that he must be one of them, and is indeed St. Ethelbert, King of East Anglia, who was a most popular saint in the Middle Ages, and at Lincoln quite a local personage. According to the story he was murdered at the Court of Offa, whither he had gone to be married to the Princess Althryda or Elfreda, and by the order of her mother, who is the lady he tramples on. Althryda the princess is said to have retired to Crowland, "where she led a life of heavenly contemplation," and where the holy memory of the Virgin was afterwards celebrated. I have no doubt that she is the princess by the King's side.

Following this clue, and for the sake of distinction, as Archæology abhors a vacuum, we might perhaps give the name of Etheldreda to the other lady before described.

The noble statues of which I have been speaking have suffered much during the last century. When Carter drew the crowned figures their heads were still on the bodies. Wild (1819) shows the King's head, and he remarks on the Queen's head having been drawn by Carter. It must have been destroyed about 1800. When Cockerell wrote (about 1848) he speaks of "the head of the King having been knocked off within a few years." Wild also shows the head of the other female figure as existing, and Mr. Fairfax Murray has a small sketch of the entire figure by Flaxman. Three of the heads of the most valuable set of sculptures in England have thus disappeared in a century.^b

As to style, these Lincoln sculptures agree in many particulars with those at Westminster in the interior of the chapter-house and with the angels high up in the transept. There must, I think, have been a direct relation between the sculptures at Westminster and at Lincoln.

THE ANGEL CHOIR.

Amongst the sculptures of the triforium of the Angel Choir is a Majesty with attendant angels, a group which much resembles the sculptures of the tympanum of the Judgment door.

The first two bays on the north side figure the Fall and the Final Judgment.

^a In the cast stores at the Victoria and Albert Museum I have found a cast of the king's figure taken before it was tampered with; this is a valuable record.

^b Those at present on the king and queen are probably based on Carter's etching. That on Etheldreda looks like a good copy. What is its origin?

In the second bay, the fourth division is the Majesty regarding the scene of the Fall; before the Christ are two angels, one bearing the spear and sponge and the other the crown of thorns. The Christ has his right hand uplifted while the left exposes His wounded side.^a In the fifth spandrel next following is the Archangel Michael weighing souls; the righteous fall into his lap and the wicked into the hands of waiting devils. In the same spandrel as the Christ, between him and St. Michael, is a small angel carrying a blessed soul to Christ. The sixth or last spandrel of these first two bays is occupied by an angel censuring. The whole considered together is an extremely beautiful composition.

The first bay opposite on the south side is devoted to the Virgin. In the first spandrel is the Virgin seated with the Holy Child, who caresses her. In the next is an angel bearing a small nude figure in a napkin; this probably represents the Assumption of the Virgin. In the third spandrel is an angel with an open book, probably reading the prophecies regarding the Virgin.

All the other spandrels towards the east on both sides are occupied by angels with musical instruments, palms, crowns, books, and scrolls, except one, which bears the sun and moon, and another a falcon.^b

The whole represents the Fall, the Redemption through the Birth of Christ, and the Last Judgment, together with a choir of attendant angels. On seeing the prominent part that the angels take it might perhaps be better described as the Work of Christ and the Virgin in our Salvation, and the Ministry of Angels. Such concourses of angels forming a chorus are frequently found. At Wells they occurred in a row of quatrefoils across the whole front carrying crowns, scrolls, etc. Inside the north transept at Westminster there is a most complete series. At Lichfield one of the orders of the north door has twenty-four angels; they held crowns, palms, scrolls, suns, and moons.

The larger spandrels, those in the middle of each bay, are made up of three stones in slabs jointed vertically, and these joints govern the design in a striking way. For instance, in the expulsion group the joint on one side runs close to the sword which the angel holds upright, on the other the joint is close to the pretty little slender figures of Adam and Eve.

^a This figure is the more valuable as being the most perfect Christ in Judgment we have. Cockerell published beautiful lithographs of all the spandrels mostly from drawings by the sculptor, Alfred Stevens. Casts of about half are at the Architectural Museum, and Messrs. Prior and Gardner have published several in photography.

^b This is curious. Wild says it is an ornamental form of bagpipes! Is it a symbol of sight or swiftness? or of the delights of Heaven!

Some photographs taken lately by Mr. Arthur Gardner revealed traces of coloured decoration, and doubtless the whole was brightly painted and gilt. At the south door a few slight traces of paint were discernible, and that also must have been brightly illuminated with colour. When Britton described it the colours were much more distinct.^a

^a "These sculptures shew traces of colours and gilding, the decay of which is not to be regretted; time has spread a warm mellow tone over the whole, and long may it remain untouched by any presumptuous attempt to restore or beautify it." John Britton, *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* (London, 1820), v. 239.

XV.—*The Treasury of God and the Birthright of the Poor; or Facts illustrating the origin of "Parsons" and "Vicars" in England.* By REV. OSWALD J. REICHEL, M.A., B.C.L., F.S.A.

Read 28th February, 1907.

I. THE TREASURY OF GOD.

Definition of Terms.

THE treasury or portion of God is a convenient term, based on the language of the seventeenth canon of the Council of Chelsea in 787 and other authorities,^a to express that portion of a Christian man's income and property which is or ought to be devoted to religious and charitable purposes, the maintenance of the bishop and clergy, the support of the sick and the poor, and the upkeep of the fabric and the necessities of public worship. The birthright (*patrimonium*) of the poor, another convenient phrase which comes to us from the thirteenth century, consists of one portion only of the treasury of God, the part devoted to the support of the sick and the poor.

How much each individual ought to contribute to the treasury of God, how the same ought to be expended, and who ought to be the recipients are matters

^a Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 1871), iii. 637: "Let all endeavour to pay tithes of all that they possess because it is the Lord God's own (*quia speciale Domini Dei est*), and let him live on the fine parts." Innocent III. in *Decret.* Lib. III. tit. xxx. c. 33: "God has reserved tithes to himself by a special title in sign of his universal lordship." Concil. Westminster, A.D. 1127, Can. 9: "We charge tithes as the portion 'of God to be paid in full.'"

on which I do not propose to enter here. They belong to the sphere of moral theology. Let it suffice to remark that the individual's contribution according to circumstances may lie anywhere between the minimum and the maximum. The minimum is a tenth part of his whole property and income, together with such further offerings as may be ordered by authority. The maximum is the whole of what he possesses, leaving him dependent on the Church for a maintenance.

The Minimum and the Maximum.

That the tenth part of a man's property and income should have been fixed as the minimum of his contribution to the treasury of God is not the result of accident or caprice. For the teaching of the Christian Church has always been that those who owe life and all they possess to Christ's undeserved redemption ought to regard that life and all they possess not as their own, but as trust-property to be expended in God's service. If Jews then living in the dim twilight of unfulfilled prophecy were required to devote a tenth part of their substance together with occasional extras to pious and charitable uses, much more must be expected of Christians living in the full light of the risen Sun. To give up a tenth part to God is therefore the least demanded of Christians. Of many much more than a tenth is required; and those who would be perfect,^a a select few it is true, are called upon to sell all that they have and give to the poor. They who obey this call the Church has always specially honoured as "religious persons,"^b and in acknowledgment of their obedience has taken upon itself the charge of their maintenance.

Administration of the Treasury in Early Times.

In the first days of the Church, as may be gathered from the account in the Acts,^c contributions to the treasury were paid over into a central fund, which was administered by the Apostles themselves. Then, owing to the murmuring of the

^a Mark x. 21; Matt. xix. 21; Luke xviii. 22; conf. Luke xii. 33.

^b Concil. 21 Peckham, A.D. 1281: "The name of religion is by us appropriated to the monastic life."

^c Acts v. 4.

Hellenists because their widows were overlooked in the daily distribution,^a the Apostles (οἱ δώδεκα) declined to continue the burden of administration, and instituted the order of deacons specially to devote themselves to this work. The deacons were therefore the financial officers of the Church, the relieving officers of poor Christians, the paymasters of the clergy, the administrators of a central fund. As such their position was a most important one, so important that the existence of deacons determined whether a district counted as a parish or not. In times of persecution the deacons were responsible for conveying food, clothing, and the sympathy of the brethren to Christians in prison or in the mines. They had to find ways and means to support widows and orphans; they had to entertain strangers coming from other Churches with commendatory letters. Hospitals, poor houses, guest houses, the houses for consecrated virgins and widows, clergy houses, foundling homes, all were under the charge of the deacons. So, too, were all the arrangements for public worship. They assisted the bishop to collect the offerings of bread and wine; they prepared the offerings thus made and placed them on the altar; they called on the faithful to pray for this, that, or the other object, at the end of which the bishop said the collect or summing-up prayer. Everything that had to be *done* was in fact the deacon's work, just as everything in the way of prayer or instruction was the priest's. And no doubt it was on their initiative that when funds ran short a two or three days' practice of self-denial was imposed on all.^b So long as Christianity was confined to the great cities of the Roman empire the treasury of God was undoubtedly treated as a central fund in each place, into which all Christians paid their dues and the deacons administered it under the bishop. In some places, at Rome for instance, and in the dioceses of Rheims, Paris, and Soissons,^c it was the custom to divide the fund into four parts, allotted respectively to the bishop, the clergy, the poor, and the fabric.^d It is true that in this country,^e in Portugal, and in

^a Acts, vi. 1.

^b *Apology of Aristides*, A.D. 120: "If funds fall short we have a fast of two or three days."

^c Selborne's *Ancient Facts and Fictions*, 30.

^d Concil. Mogunt, A.D. 841. See Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, ii. 340.

^e See *Bæda*, i. 27. Egbert's Excerpt 5, A.D. 740: "That bishops (*sacerdotes*) themselves receive the tithes from the people . . . and divide them in the presence of such as fear God according to canonical authority, and choose the first part for the ornament of the church, and distribute the second part to the use of poor and strangers . . . and let the bishops reserve the third part for themselves." Ælfric, *Can.* 24, A.D. 957: "That tithes be paid unto God's Church, and that the priest divide them into three parts, one for the repairs of the church, a second to the poor, a third to God's servants who attend the church."

Spain,^a we hear of a threefold division; but that was due to the circumstance that in these countries there were monastic bishops forbidden by the rules of their order to live apart from their clergy, and it only applied to city churches. The whole circle of rural districts was administered on an entirely different system.

The System of Administration in Rural Parts.

When Christianity was first introduced into this country there were but few town centres in which the Church could be supported by means of a central fund. Nowhere except where a collegiate or monastic church had been founded were there deacons to administer such a fund. Only in a few places any one to make gifts to it. The village lord was himself the patron and protector of all within his manor, and upon him rested the obligation of caring for the poor within the same. He was himself the principal tithe-payer, but he was also himself the tithe-dispenser. Only gradually did the canonical become a legal obligation leading to the substitution of the parson in the village for the deacon of the city. The beginnings of this are first met with across the water.

In the year 585 the second Council of Mâcon decreed^b "that the ancient custom be renewed (*reparetur*) by the faithful, and that all the people pay tithes to those who wait upon ecclesiastical functions (*cæremoniæ*), which the bishops (*sacerdotes*) expending either for the benefit of the poor or the redemption of captives, may secure by their prayers the peace and welfare of the people." The wording of this canon clearly shows that this was not the introduction of a new law but the conversion of a moral duty into a canonical payment. No longer could the tithe-payer act as his own almoner and bestow his tithes on cases he thought the most deserving. The canon called on him to pay them over to officials "of the Church who waited upon ecclesiastical functions," leaving it to these officers to disburse them to others.

^a Concil. Brac. A.D. 563, Can. 7: "That the effects of the Church be divided into three equal parts, one for the bishop, one for the clergy, one for repairs and lights" (the bishop's portion was for the poor). Concil. Emeritan, A.D. 666, Can. 14: "Whatever money is offered to the Church by the faithful should be carefully set aside and presented to the bishop, that it may be divided into three equal parts, one for the bishop, one for the presbyters and deacons to be divided among them, a third to the subdeacons and the rest of the clergy as the precentor thinks fit.

^b Can. 5, quoted in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, iii. 637.

In this country, however, the payment of tithes and other dues to officers of the Church does not seem to have been practised at so early a date; but there can be little doubt that here as elsewhere they were looked on as morally belonging to the poor and other pious purposes. One of Edward's ecclesiastical laws in 1064 (Law 9) declares that "the blessed Augustine preached and taught [the payment of the tithes], and it was granted by the king and barons and people; but afterwards many detained them by instinct of the devil, and priests being rich and negligent did not care to be at the pains to get them because they had sufficient maintenance." But there is also evidence to show that in this country they were not paid to officials of the Church before the ninth and tenth centuries, and even then only in some cases. In Theodore's *Penitential*, about 668 A.D., one of the statements made is,^a "There is no compulsion to pay tithes to a presbyter (*Presbytero decimas dare non cogitur*).^b" The obligation to pay them must therefore have been a moral rather than a legal one, and at any rate the presbyter, mass-priest, or chaplain was not then the person to receive them.

Church Shot.

The first note of compulsion which we meet with in this country is in one of Ine's laws of the year 693:^b "Let church shots," it runs, "be paid by St. Martin's mass [11 November]. If any one make default let him forfeit 60 shillings and render the church shot 12 fold."

The payments here alluded to as "church shots" appear to be identical with those called by Theodore in his *Penitential* "Church dues." "The Church due (*tributum ecclesiæ*)," he says, "is according to the custom of the province, care being had that the poor do not suffer in the way of tithes or in any other way."^c By another of Ine's laws these church shots are required to be made "according to the roof and the hearth where a man is dwelling at midwinter."^d Accordingly authorities tell us that church shot was not paid according to a person's quality or wealth, but strictly according to the size of his house. And from the way in which church shot is mentioned in charters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries

^a II. ii. 8 in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, iii. 191.

^b Law 4 in Haddan and Stubbs, *l.c.* iii. 215.

^c II. xiv. 9 in Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 203.

^d Law 61, *Ibid.* iii. 217.

it appears to be identical with the see-due or *cathedraticum*, a payment made to the bishop by way of composition for his interest in first-fruits and offerings.

In support of this view as to its origin Canon 16 of the first Council of Orleans in 511 may be appealed to:^a Of the offerings of the faithful "at the altar let the bishop take half himself and let the clergy take half to distribute according to their ranks." Canon 18 of the same Council then goes on to direct:^b Let the bishop bestow food and raiment as far as he is "able on the poor and infirm who by reason of their infirmity are no longer able to work themselves." When ampler provision had been made for the poor by allocating to them the tithes, the see-due appears to have been collected in rural parts by the same person who collected the tithes, usually the lord of the manor.^c Hence when the bishop's right to church shot was restricted to two shillings from any one church^d the lord of the manor pocketed the difference, occasionally making it over as the endowment of his own chaplain^e or else retaining it as a manorial asset.

There is, however, more direct evidence for identifying the church shot with the see-due. In the thirteenth century Pope Honorius III. writing to the Bishop of Assissi enumerates the dues payable to the bishop as four:^f viz. (1) the see-due

^a Gratian, Caus. X. Qu. 1. c. 8.

^b Gratian I. Dist. cxxxii. c. 1.

^c Edgar's Laws in 958 (Kemble, *Saxons in England*, ii. 560) speak of the tithes as being in the control of the lord of the manor (hocland lord). The customs of Tidenham in Gloucestershire required the villager (*gebur*) to bring his contribution to the church shot to the lord's barn (Kemble, *l.c.*). Hone, *The Manor and Manorial Records*, p. 204, quotes from the manor rolls of Barkham, in 4 Edward I.: "The reeve answers for 2 shillings and 1 penny yield of 10 cocks and 10 hens from church shot (*chirset*) sold." *Idem*, 227, quotes from the Abbot of Glastonbury's manor rolls of Burton about 1250: "Robert Tac holds 1 virgate of land and pays for tenement rent (*gablum*) yearly 4 shillings . . . and a cock and a hen for church shot (*cherset*) on St. Martin's Day."

^d Concil. Brac. ii. A.D. 572, Can. 2: "Let no bishop making a tour of his minsters (*diocesēs*) take anything else from a church but 2 shillings." Pelagius ii. A.D. 577-590 ap. Gratian Caus. X. Qu. iii. c. 4. Concil. Tolet. vii. A.D. 646, Can. 4: "That each bishop of the aforesaid province in accordance with the synod of Braga do not call for an annual contribution of more than 2 shillings from each chapel of his minster (*per singulas diocesis suæ basilicas*), churches of monasteries being exempt.

^e So we find in the Hampshire Domesday (*Victoria History*, p. 452), under Wallop: "There is a church to which belong 1 hide and a moiety of the tithes of the manor and the whole church shot (*cirset*)." Again (*Ibid.* p. 456), under Hurstbourn (*Esseborne*): "Vidal the priest holds the church belonging to this manor with $\frac{1}{2}$ hide; there he has 1 plough with 2 hinds and 1 acre of meadow and the whole church shot (*circesset*) which is worth 14 shillings."

^f *Decret.* Greg. IX. Lib. I. tit. xxxi. c. 16.

or *cathedraticum*; (2) synodal dues (*synodaticum*, or *synodalia*, or *synodus*); (3) the bishop's aid, now called procurations; and (4) a fourth share of tithes and mortuaries. Now in 1174 Henry, Bishop of Bayeux, at the request of King Henry II., wishing to discharge the priory of St. Stephen at Plessis-Grimould from all these dues granted to it immunity from "(1) synodals, (2) aids, (3) church shot (*circata*), and (4) all episcopal dues."^a About the same time the bishop granted to the brethren of Briweton church "that (1) the bishop's aid exacted every third year shall not exceed 10 shillings in money of Le Mans, nor shall more be demanded of them for (2) church shot (*circata*), and (3) synodal dues (*synodalia*) than they paid in his predecessor's time."^b Here church shot holds the place of the see-due in the list of Honorius III.

Again in 1173 Richard, Bishop of Coutances, when founding a new prebend in his cathedral church, gave to it the church revenues of Huberville "free and quit from (1) synodal dues (*sinode*), (2) church shot (*circata*), and (3) every due to bishop or archdeacon."^c Here again it will be seen that church shot holds the place of the due elsewhere described as the see-due.

In this country the church shot appears to have consisted of a measure of corn paid by each householder. For in 1105 we read that Robert de Hay "gave to the abbey of Lessay from all his manors that measure of corn which is called church shot (*chorchet*)."^d A document quoted by Kemble runs: "As to church shot (*ciric sceat*) the county states that from every hide of land whether free or villager's (*gebur*) land belonging to Worcester (*Wirecestre*) church the bishop ought to have on St. Martin's feast [11 November] one horse-load of corn (*summa annonæ*, i.e. 240lbs.) of the best there growing."^e As to the church shot of Pershore (*Perscora*) the county states that the church of Pershore ought to have the church shot (*ciric sceatt*) from all the 300 hides, viz. from each hide where a freeman dwells one horse load of corn; if he have several hides they are free."^f

^a *Calendar of Documents in France*, 193.

^b *Ibid.* 176.

^c *Ibid.* 343.

^d *Ibid.* 329.

^e Kemble, *Saxons in England*, ii. 560; and Maitland, *Domesday and Beyond*, 290, 305, 320.

^f *Ibid.* 560.

Extension of Legal Obligation to Tithes and other Dues in Late Saxon Times.

The extension of legal obligation to tithes and other dues and the requiring them to be paid to church officers appears to date from a time later than the end of the eighth century. In 787 it is true the legatine Council of Chelsea laid down the payment of tithes as a duty, and seemingly contemplated the payment being made to officials of the Church;^a but the authority of this Council seems not altogether established. Then followed the legislation of Ethelwulf in 855, which is appealed to by Selden and others as the basis of the legal obligation to pay tithes in this country, but apparently without reason; for both Kemble^b and Haddan and Stubbs^c have shown that this legislation bears a quite different meaning. For the real legal obligation to pay tithes we must wait till the tenth century. Then in 944 we meet with a law of King Edmund:^d

We enjoin upon all Christian men the payment of tithes as also their church shot and almsfee. Let them who will not do it be excommunicated.

Again in 958 Edgar's laws lay it down specifically:

(1) This is the principal point, that God's churches possess their right and that every one pay his tithe to the ancient minster [*i.e.* collegiate church] to which the district belongs whether of the thane's home farm (*inland*) or of the villagers' land wherever the plough goes.

(2) If a thane hath on his manor (*bocland*) a church with a burying-place belonging to it, let him pay the third part of his tithes unto his own church. If he have a church with no burying-place belonging to it, let him give his priest what he will out of the nine parts; but let every church shot go to the ancient minster from all the freemen's ground.

(3) And let all the tithe of young animals be paid by Pentecost and of the fruits of the earth by the equinox, and let every church shot be paid by Martinmass [11 November] under pain of the full mulct which the doom book orders; and if any will not pay the tithe as we have commanded let the king's reeve and the bishop's reeve and the mass-priest of the minster go to him and take by force the tenth part for the minster to which it belongs and deliver to

^a Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, iii. 456, Can. 17.

^b *Saxons in England*, ii. 481.

^c *Op. cit.* iii. 637.

^d Law 2.

him the ninth part, and let the eight parts be divided into two; and let the lord take one half, the bishop the other, whether it be a king's man or a thane's man.

(4) And let every hearth-penny be paid by Petermass [1 August] and let him who hath not paid it by that time carry it to Rome and 30 pence over.

Another law of the same king in 960 (Law 54) ordains :

Let priests remind the people of their duty to God, to be just in tithing and other matters, first the plough-alms 15 nights after Easter, and the tithe of young animals by Pentecost, and the fruits of the earth by All Hallows [1 November], the Rome fee at Petermass [1 August] and church shot at Martinmass [11 November].

The canons passed at Ensham in 1009 repeat the same (Can. 10, 11, 12) :

(10) Let God's rights be paid every year duly and carefully, *i.e.* plough-alms 15 nights after Easter at latest; tithe of young by Pentecost and of all fruits of the earth by All Hallows' mass [1 November].

(11) And the Rome fee by Peter's mass [1 August] and the church shot at Martinmass [11 November].

(12) And the light shot thrice a year. And it is most just that men pay the soul shot at the open grave.

Again in 1014 King Ethelred's law (Law 4) lays it down :

We charge that every man for the love of God and the saints pay the church shot and his lawful tithe as he did in the days of our ancestors when he did it best, *i.e.* the 10th acre wherever the plough goes; and let every custom be paid for the love of God to the mother-church to which it belongs; and let no man take from God what belongs to Him and what our ancestors have granted.

These laws I think clearly indicate that in the later Anglo-Saxon period all owners or holders of land were required to contribute to the treasury of God through the officers of the Church the following six payments :

(1) Plough-alms or almsfee, which had to be paid at latest within fifteen nights after Easter, and appears to be now represented by Easter-dues, a sum of twopence due from every member of a family above sixteen years of age.

(2) First-fruits or tithes of increase required to be paid by Pentecost.

- (3) Tithes of corn and grain payable at All Hallows' mass (1 November).
- (4) Church shot or the see-due payable at Martinmass (11 November).
- (5) The Rome fee or Rome shot, also called hearthpenny,^a and Peter's penny,^b a silver penny payable by every householder possessed of land or cattle of the yearly value of thirty pence on Lammas day (1 August).
- (6) The light shot, a levy made three times a year according to Cnut's law,^c first a halfpenny worth of wax from every ploughland on Easter eve, and the same amount on All Hallows' mass (1 November) and again at Candlemas (2 February).

From a constitution of Walter Gray, Archbishop of York in 1250 (Const. 2), it may be inferred that light shot was taken to be a composition in lieu of personal tithes. "We ordain," it runs, "that personal tithes be paid of handicrafts and merchants and of trading gains, as also of carpenters, smiths and weavers, masons and victuallers, *i.e.* let tithes be paid of their wages unless they are willing, with the rector's consent, to make some certain payment for the benefit of the lights of the church."

Of these six dues it should be noticed that only the two first, Easter dues and first-fruits, were payable to the mass-priest or parochial chaplain. Two others, the church shot and the Rome shot, were payable to the bishop, one of them for himself, the other for transmission to Rome, and were probably collected by the lord of the manor; whilst tithes and light shot were also collected by the lord of the manor for their respective purposes, the ancient minster or collegiate church of the district. Whether they were paid over to the ancient minsters on their own behalf as being communities of the religious poor,^d or whether they were paid over to them as officers charged with the distribution of them to others, need not

^a Edgar's Law 4, A.D. 938.

^b Edward's Law 11, A.D. 1064.

^c Cnut's Law 12, A.D. 1017.

^d An early authority in Gratian, Caus. I. Qu. i. c. 68, writes: "Since all that clerks have belongs to the poor and their houses ought to be open to all, they should be watchful to welcome strangers and guests. Above all they should be careful to provide for monastic houses and guest houses out of tithes and offerings. For it is lawful to give tithes and offerings and penance dues to monks and spiritual men who serve and worship God, and to transfer property to their lordship and use, paying less heed to the poor because of their poverty than because of their religion."

concern us here. At least there is evidence from Edward's ecclesiastical law already referred to^a that the collection of tithes by the ancient minsters was not in use at the time of the Conquest. It may have been, as the law says that "many [lords of manors] detained them by instinct of the devil, and priests being rich and negligent did not care to be at the pains to get them because they had sufficient maintenance." Or it may have been that a tenth part of the land had been originally given to God in lieu of tithes, as was the case in Devon.^b But it is clear that when the Normans conquered the land, the tithes with few exceptions, and church shot with exceptions, were not in the hands of the ancient minsters and still less in those of the parochial chaplains, but were the property of the manorial lords and passed with the manors themselves to the Norman conquerors.

II. TITHES AND THE BIRTHRIGHT OF THE POOR.

Passing on to the subject of tithes in Norman times, it is well to remember that the term "tithes" is used in a wide sense to describe three distinct things which the custom of the West has allotted to three distinct purposes, viz. (1) tithes of corn and grain strictly and technically called the tithes (*decimæ*), (2) first-fruits or tithes of increase (*primitiæ*),^c and (3) personal tithes or tenths. The two former are also called "predial" tithes,^d because they arise from land and estates (*prædia*), tithes of corn and grain being known as "great predial tithes," and first-fruits as "small predial tithes." On the other hand personal tithes or tenths consist of the tenth part of business or trading profits. Under the English manorial system the difference between great and small predial tithes appears to have been this, that great predial tithes consisted of the tenth part of the

^a See above, p. 5.

^b Letter of Archbishop Dunstan in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, vii. 106, and *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, xxx. 296: "Years ago the West Welsh rose against King Egbert. The king then fared thither and subdued them, and gave a tenth of his land to God in the way that seemed fit to him."

^c Hieronymus ap. Gratian, Caus. XVI. Qu. i. c. 65.

^d Hadrian IV. to Archbishop Thomas in *Decret.* Lib. III. tit. xxx. c. 4.

gross^a produce of all that was grown in the open field, whereas small predial tithes consisted of the tithe of all that was raised in the homestall, garden and curtilage.^b Small predial tithes therefore included tithe of pigs, colts, cattle, garden herbs, bees, wool, milk, cheese, and all things yearly renewing.^c As in any given area the value of small tithes was about half that of the tithe of corn or grain, or about one-third of the whole, this proportion seems to have been constantly kept in view in the settlements (*ordinationes*) of vicarages effected in the thirteenth century.

The Purposes for which different Kinds of Tithe were allotted.

It is important to remember that although both great and small predial tithes, and in addition personal tithes and offerings, all belonged to the treasury of God, yet the purposes to which they were assigned by Western rule were widely different. For except in the very few ancient collegiate churches there was no one central fund, but instead different revenues were severally assigned to separate purposes. A passage in the Apostolic Constitutions towards the end of the fourth century^d directs that "All the first-fruits of the wine-press, the

^a Innocent III. in *Decret.* Lib. III. tit. xxx. c. 26: "Divers laymen are endeavouring to deprive churches and clergy of their rights. Some assert that the seed and expenses incurred in tillage should be first deducted and tithe paid on the residue. Others setting aside the tithe from the portion of the fruits paid by their tenants, give it to their chapels or their clergy or even to the poor, or at will apply it to their own uses. Some even objecting to the clergy's manner of life do not hesitate to withhold it altogether."

^b Thus we find the tithe of peas grown in the open field assigned to the parson, whilst the tithe of peas grown in the garden went to the chaplain or vicar. On 3rd December, 1269, Bishop Brouncker of Exeter assigned to the vicar of Littleham Abbot all the altalage except the tithe of fish and of peas and beans growing in the fields (*in campis crescentium*) (*Exeter Registers*, 151). But in the same year, 13th August, 1269, he assigned for the support of the vicar of Padstow (*Ibid.* 161) all the altalage excepting the tithe of fish and mills and the tithe of all farm produce raised in the open field (*agriculturæ in campis excolte*). On the other, on 5th June, 1270, he assigned to the vicar of St. Garan (*Ibid.* 172) all manner of small tithes and of peas and beans growing in gardens. So likewise the vicar of St. Siltsney was endowed with the tithes of peas growing in gardens (*Ibid.* p. 178).

^c Edward's Laws 8, 9, A.D. 1064.

^d *Apost. Const.* vii. 29.

threshing floor, the oxen and sheep shalt thou give to the priest, that thy store-houses and garners and produce of thy land may be blessed [but] the tenth of thy increase thou shalt give to the orphan and the widow and to the poor and stranger. All the first-fruits of thy hot bread, of thy barrels of wine or oil, or honey or nuts or grapes, or the first-fruits of other things shalt thou give to the priests, but those of silver, and of garments and of all sorts of possessions to the orphan and widow." Western use adopted the same distinction of objects, only substituting the tithe of increase for the tithe of the threshing floor as the priest's portion. Owing to the different circumstances of land cultivation between East and West there were no doubt good grounds for varying the apportionment. But throughout the Saxon and the Norman period of our history I cannot find any trace of the tithe of corn and grain being considered to be other than the patrimony of the poor. A very early authority^a followed by Hubert Walter at the legatine Council of York in 1195 (Canon 13), and by Innocent III. a few years later^b calls tithes "the tributes of needy souls." Alexander III. a few years previously^c had called them "God's consecrated portion" (*sanctuarium Dei*), and again Archbishop Peckham in 1281 (Const. 22) calls them "the inheritance of the Crucified." Indeed until the thirteenth century, when the great "consolidation of benefices" was effected, tithes, whether in the hands of a collegiate church or of an "ecclesiastical person," were accounted to be primarily held in trust for the poor; the parochial chaplain or vicar had nothing to do with them; the small predial tithe or first-fruits constituted his maintenance.

Distinction between the Chaplain's Interest, called the Church, and the Tithes or Birthright of the Poor.

It will perhaps not be out of place to give further proof of the distinction drawn in the eleventh and twelfth centuries between the mass-priest's or chaplain's interest, which in those two centuries was commonly spoken of as "the church," and the tithe of corn and grain which was held to be the birthright of the poor.

^a Gratian, Caus. XVI. Qu. i. c. 66.

^b *Decret.* Lib. III. tit. xxx. c. 26.

^c *Decret.* Lib. III. tit. xxx. c. 15.

The Calendar of Documents in France, a most valuable book for the light which it throws on English history before the year 1200, records many gifts to religious houses, but it invariably distinguishes and names separately gifts of (1) churches, (2) tithes, and (3) lands. In those two centuries the term church is used to express the chaplain's emoluments from offerings and first-fruits, which at a later date were designated *altalage*, but it never includes the tithe of corn and grain. On the other hand, a century later, after the "consolidation" of benefices, the term church always connotes the tithes, and the incumbent's interest is known as *altalage*.

In the year 1105, for instance, Henry I. grants to the Abbey of Bec^a "all the (1) lands, (2) churches, and (3) tithes confirmed to them by his father." By two charters, dated respectively 1093 and 1096 William de Poillei gives to God and to St. Martin of Séez the third part of the corn tithes of all his manors in Devon.^b King Stephen, about 1145, "for his weal and that of his predecessors confirms whatever his barons and other subjects, French and English, have given to the monastery of St. Pancras," specifying amongst others "the church of Berry Narbor (*Biria*) . . . and also the lands and tithes belonging to the same, and the land of Brunescota . . . at Highbray, a virgate of land and the church which Mauger de Brai gave," with a long list of other churches, tithes, and land.^c Similarly in 1073 "William de Braose gave to St. Nicolas [of Bramber] 6 hides of land, and the whole tithe of his monies (*denariorum*) and of his home farm in hand when he crossed the sea and went to Maine in the army with William King of the English, and the tithe and church of Bedinges."^d And if further evidence is needed, turn to Joslin de Pomeray's grant to St. Mary du Val in 1125,^e when he conveyed to that monastery "and to the canons there serving God according to the rule of St. Augustine 60 acres in the parish of St. Omer . . . and half his bacon pigs and those of his heirs in Normandy, and the tithe of his mares in Normandy and England, and 40 shillings sterling from the tenement rents (*de gablo*) of Berry Pomeroy . . . and in England the tithe of his bacon pigs and of his mills at Berry . . . and in

^a *Calendar of Documents in France*, 124.

^b *Ibid.* 235; *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, xxxvi. 363.

^c *Ibid.* 510.

^d *Ibid.* 405.

^e *Ibid.* 536.

England a manor called Teign Canon (*Tigneia*) and his chaplain emoluments (*capellana* or *capellaria*) [*i.e.* vicarage emoluments] in England, viz. the tithe of wool, cheese, porkers, and lambs at [Up]ottery (*Otrevum*) and all belonging to his chaplain emoluments in England."

The above instances, and many more to a like effect may be quoted, show that the king and his barons in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were in the habit of making donations of three distinct kinds to monastic bodies and collegiate churches. Sometimes they bestowed on them lands; at other times they made over to them churches or the gift of the emoluments accruing from a spiritual charge;^a at other times again they made over to them tithes, *i.e.* the great tithes or tithes of corn and grain. But they could not have given the tithes had they not been themselves possessed of them at the time. Evidently therefore the mass-priest or chaplain was not the receiver or dispenser of tithes then, but the lord of the manor was. And apparently the administration of them, like the administration of the rest of the estate, was usually exercised by the lord's steward or some other lay persons.

Ecclesiastical Persons or Parsons.

The transition from an ordinary lay person to an ecclesiastical person or "parson" as the administrator of the tithes was the result of the legislation of the three Lateran Councils, and to a desire to keep within the letter of this legislation whilst in effect ignoring it in substance. To the same legislation must, I think, also be referred the creation of the new official neither in orders nor out of orders known as the ecclesiastical person. For the ecclesiastical person was substantially a layman, because he had not yet been admitted to the lowest of the minor orders, and yet by being tonsured he had brought himself within the bishop's special jurisdiction,^b and was consequently usually described as a clerk.

^a Innocent III. in *Decret.* Lib. III. tit. xxx. c. 31: "If a layman in making a gift of a church uses words such as, I give you such a church, nothing more is understood to be granted save a right of patronage."

^b Concil. 15 Peckham, A.D. 1281: "That churches be not farmed but to holy and reputable ecclesiastical persons whom the bishop may freely coerce." Reichel's *Complete Manual of Canon Law*, i. 324.

In 1123 the fifth canon of the first Lateran Council laid it down:^a "We decree that no laymen, however religious they may be, shall have any power of disposing of tithes, but according to the canons of the apostles let the bishop have charge of all the business matters (*negotia*) of the Church and dispense them as in the presence of God." In 1139 the tenth canon of the second Lateran Council ordained:^b "Tithes which canonical authority shows to have been granted for works of piety we forbid by apostolic authority to be in the possession of laymen." Again in 1179 the fourteenth canon of the third Lateran Council ruled:^c "We forbid laymen who detain tithes at peril of their souls to transfer them to other laymen in any way whatsoever." The effect of these canons soon made itself felt in the great number of gifts of tithes which were made to religious houses, some of these gifts being of quite a wholesale character. But many of the smaller lords were reluctant to grant their tithes to distant bodies, and preferred to retain them for local expenditure. This object was effected by tonsuring the lord's steward or other lay person who administered them, whereby he became converted into an "ecclesiastical person," and could hold them as a clerk without violating the Lateran canons. The lord's grantee thereby became responsible to the bishop for his administration of them, and was called in consequence the responsible person (*certa persona*),^d but usually this ecclesiastical or responsible person simply was spoken of as the person or parson.^e

In the ordinary course the tonsure was only the stepping stone to minor orders, but many of those who took the tonsure to qualify to hold the tithes as clerks were unwilling to enter the ranks of order. Accordingly only three years

^a *Mansi*, xxi. 282.

^b *Mansi*, xxi. 528.

^c *Mansi*, xxii. 226; *Decret.* Lib. III. tit. xxx. c. 19.

^d Concl. 49 Langton, A.D. 1222, in *Lyndwood*, p. 151: "We ordain that no churches belonging to responsible persons (*certæ personæ*) be let to farm but for a just cause and to one in orders of whom it may be presumed that he will apply the fruits to good uses." Const. 15 Peckham, A.D. 1281, quoted 15 n. b.

^e Thus in October, 1283, Bishop Quivil of Exeter granted a licence to Nicolas de Gatecumbe, parson of Ashwater, to study at Oxford for one year. He was to pay 1 mark to the Preaching Friars, 1 mark to the Franciscans, and 1 mark to the poor (*Bronescombe Exeter Registers*, 313). The value of the benefice was then returned as £12 (*Ibid.* 459). Again on 15th November, 1286, a licence was granted to the same to study theology or canon law (*decreta*) at Oxford and to put out his benefice to farm to the chaplain of the place (*Ibid.* 313).

after the decree of the first Lateral Council we find one of Carboyl's canons at the Council of London in 1126 decreeing that "clerks who have churches or benefices be deprived of them if they refuse to be ordained." This canon, it will be seen, refers not only to holders of churches or vicars, but also to holders of benefices or parsons. Another canon of Carboyl's at Westminster in the following year^a forbids "churches or tithes or ecclesiastical benefices to be given or taken by any person without the consent of the bishop," where ecclesiastical benefices, being distinguished from churches and tithes, probably refers to benefices consisting of ecclesiastical lands. It may then be safely asserted that between the dates of the first and third Lateran Councils, in all parishes in which the tithes had not been made over to some collegiate or monastic church, there existed at least one other benefice-holder besides the chaplain or mass-priest, the ecclesiastical person whose office it was to administer the tithes; that he was appointed by the lord of the manor in the same way that the incumbent was; that he was strictly speaking a layman, but tonsured to bring him within the bishop's special jurisdiction; that by virtue of his tonsure he was called a clerk and brought within the terms of the canon; and that this responsible or ecclesiastical person held the administration of the tithes of corn and grain quite independently of the mass-priest or chaplain. He in fact discharged the same duties which were ordinarily discharged by the deacons in cities.

The earliest instances that I have come across of the term parson being applied to such an officer date from the close of the twelfth century. In the Constitutions of Clarendon in 1164 it is true parsons are twice mentioned. "Archbishops and bishops," says Constitution 11, "and all the parsons of the kingdom who hold of the king in chief, are to look on their estates as baronies." Here the parsons are obviously not those who have a cure of souls but who administer an ecclesiastical estate held of the king in chief. Again, Constitution 12 provides that "when an archbishopric, bishopric, abbacy, or priory is vacant, the king shall send his mandate to the chief parsons of that church," where the chapter members who have prebends are clearly designated by chief parsons. But in 1195 the Council of York under Hubert Walter as papal legate uses parson to express the holder of tithes in a parish. "We charge," so runs Canon 6, "that parsons and vicars take diligent care according to the pensions which belong to them, that churches which want reparation be

^a Can. 9, A.D. 1127.

repaired." The Exeter diocesan registers also show parsons and vicars existing side by side in a large number of parishes in Devon and Cornwall prior to the "consolidations" effected in the thirteenth century.

One point more. There is evidence that the number of benefice-holders in any parish was not confined to two, the parson and the vicar. In divers cases there were more than two. In some places there were several parsons, in others several vicars. If there were several manors in a parish the lord of each of them would appoint his own parson to administer the tithes of his manor and likewise his own chaplain or vicar. To stop this practice Constitution 13 of Langton in 1222 ordained: "In churches where there are several parsons let the portions of those that die accrue to the survivors till the whole come to one man." A constitution of the legate Otho (Const. 11) in 1237 also sets forth how that: "Sometimes under pretence of several patrons a church is given not to one but to divers [vicars] . . . and sometimes the parson consents that some portion be granted to another by name of parsonship (*personatus*) . . . sometimes a man makes a cession of his parsonship and accepts a vicarage in the same church. . . . For the future we ordain that no one church be divided into several parsonships or vicarages, and that such as have hitherto been divided be made whole again as soon as opportunity offers, unless they were thus ordered of old."

Consolidation of Benefices.

The consolidation of benefices which was completed throughout this country in the thirteenth century, wherever benefices had not passed to religious houses, puts the coping-stone on the structure known as the parochial system. The earlier canonical legislation of that century had been directed against a plurality of parsons or a plurality of vicars in the same church. The union of the parsonship with the vicarage followed. And just as the Lateran legislation brought into existence the new officer known as the ecclesiastical person or parson, so the union of the parsonship with the vicarage brought into existence a new local officer known as the ruler or rector.^a Previously the term rector had been confined to

^a The term is, however, met with in Canon 2 of the 9th Council of Toledo, 655, which directs that builders of churches may present (*offerre*) to their bishops suitable rectors to be ordained in the same churches.

the bishop or to the head of a collegiate church, because he had charge alike of the temporalities and spiritualities, but the latter was more often called the provost.

The episcopal registers of Exeter are full of instances of this consolidation of benefices, and they bring before us clearly the existence side by side of parsons and vicars. It may not then be out of place to conclude with a few examples. "On Monday next, after St. Giles, 1263, Richard de Hidone, clerk, was admitted to the entirety of the church of Meshaw by consolidating the share aforetime held therein by the presbyter Juvenal with his own parsonship or share of 2 shillings."^a This entry shows that before 1263 Richard de Hidone was parson of Meshaw and Juvenal was vicar, that the value of the parsonship to the administrator was 2 shillings a year, and that on Juvenal's death the two offices were united in Richard, and he became rector of Meshaw. In the same year, 1263, "Chaplain Robert was admitted to the parsonship of Rame, with right of succession to the entirety on the death of Robert, vicar of Rame."^b On 26th January, 1263-4, the bishop assigned to Richard de Bamfilde $\frac{1}{2}$ mark of silver on account of the parsonship of the church of Thorverton, with right of succession to the entirety on the death of Richard de Chippestable, then vicar,"^c and on Chippestable's death on 26th March, 1265, the bishop instituted the same Richard de Bamfilde to the rectory of Thorverton.^d "On 2nd July, 1259, John de Withiel resigned the rectory of St. Merryn, and on the following day was collated to the vicarage of the same place, enjoying all the income as before saving 20 marks to be paid annually to Peter de Tarentesia as parson's share for life."^e "On 19th October, 1258, the vicarage of Churchstaunton being vacant was consolidated with the parsonship."^f "On 26th December, 1258, the vicarage of St. Ive being vacant was consolidated with the parsonship at the instance of the rector, John de Manneton."^g "On 26th December, 1262, William de Membiri, subdeacon, was admitted to the entirety of the church of Meeth, in which he previously had 5 marks a year on account of parsonship."^h

Surely these extracts show that the coexistence of "parson" and "vicar or chaplain" in a parish was long anterior to the union of the two offices in the

^a *Bronescombe Registers*, 155.

^b *Ibid.* 164.

^c *Ibid.* 185.

^f *Ibid.* 124.

^d *Ibid.* 185.

^g *Ibid.* 173.

^e *Ibid.* 174.

^h *Ibid.* 155.

“rector,” and prove that Lord Selborne was mistaken in following Johnson and others in the belief that tithes had always belonged of right to the incumbent and had been wrongfully alienated from him. The authorities which I have been able to refer to prove the exact opposite. In this country tithes appear never to have belonged to parochial incumbents, except by some express grant, and the bestowal of them on incumbents has led to their being alienated in great measure from the purposes for which they were originally intended.

XVI.—*On the great Almery for relics of late in the Abbey Church of Selby, with notes on some other receptacles for relics.* By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A.

Read 21st March, 1907.

ONE of the greatest disasters that has befallen an important historical monument in this country for over half a century was the burning of the Abbey Church of Selby in the early hours of the 20th of October last.

The building itself is no doubt familiar to many from the view of it which can be had from the railway in passing Selby, but those who have cared to stop and see it will be mindful of its noble fourteenth-century presbytery, and of its curious Norman nave in which successive builders seem to have erected experimental bays. The nave was covered by a nearly flat wooden ceiling of the fifteenth century, with a modern high-pitched roof set up by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1872. The eastern arm of the church was originally built to receive a stone vault, as may be seen from the vaulting shafts and springers along the side walls, and the "tusses" prepared for the corresponding flying buttresses outside. But from lack of funds, only the aisles were vaulted in stone, and the main span was covered by a quadripartite wooden vault with carved bosses.

The recent fire, which so completely wrecked the church, spread quickly from the organ east of the north transept in which it began to the transept roof itself, and thence through the belfry to the high outer roofs of the presbytery and nave. The burning roofs in turn set fire to the ceilings beneath them, and as

these burnt through they fell in and set fire to whatever was inflammable beneath. In the case of the nave the ceiling was partly saved, and the portions that fell destroyed only a few cheap chairs. But the collapse of the blazing vault of the presbytery completed the destruction of the quire fittings, which were already alight from the wave of fire that had swept across the north aisle from the burning organ, and involved in the general ruin the altar and its reredos, and the wooden almery that stood north of the altar.

The burnt stallwork was for the most part modern, but included some remains of the fourteenth-century fittings.

The great almery was a most interesting piece of furniture of late fifteenth-century work, and as it was almost the only one of many such which had survived to our time a few notes about it may be worth putting on record before it is clean forgotten.

Before describing the Selby almery it may be useful to set down what is known about other examples in this country.

The custom of keeping relics at or near altars was universal all over Christendom in quite early times, and sooner or later provision had to be made for their safe custody.

I do not, however, propose in the present paper to go deeply into the question, and it will serve my purpose quite well to discuss such instances as can easily be illustrated in this country.

What may be called the greater relics, consisting of entire bodies of saints, like those of St. Cuthbert, St. Thomas, or St. Edward the Confessor, which were placed in standing shrines or tombs, needed little protection beyond the iron or bronze grates by which they were surrounded, or the screens that enclosed the chapels in which they stood.

The lesser relics, in the form of boxes of bones contained in moveable or portable shrines kept under, beside, or behind altars, or on beams or perches over them, were likewise protected by the screens that enclosed and guarded the altars themselves.

Relics of another class, those buried near or built up within altars, were beyond the reach of the ordinary thief; but a fourth group of relics, those contained in metal reliquaries, often richly jewelled, which were used for purposes of display or popular veneration, had to be taken special care of.

In the case of a parish church that possessed relics, such a receptacle would suffice as the small wall-lockers so often found to the north of an altar for the

custody of its ornaments; or such a cupboard, with its appendent money box, as is preserved in Wensley church, Yorkshire. (Fig. 1.)

But when relics began to increase, as they soon did in the larger monastic, cathedral, and collegiate churches, it became necessary to provide a special place for them.

Owing to reliquaries being always deemed fitting ornaments wherewith to

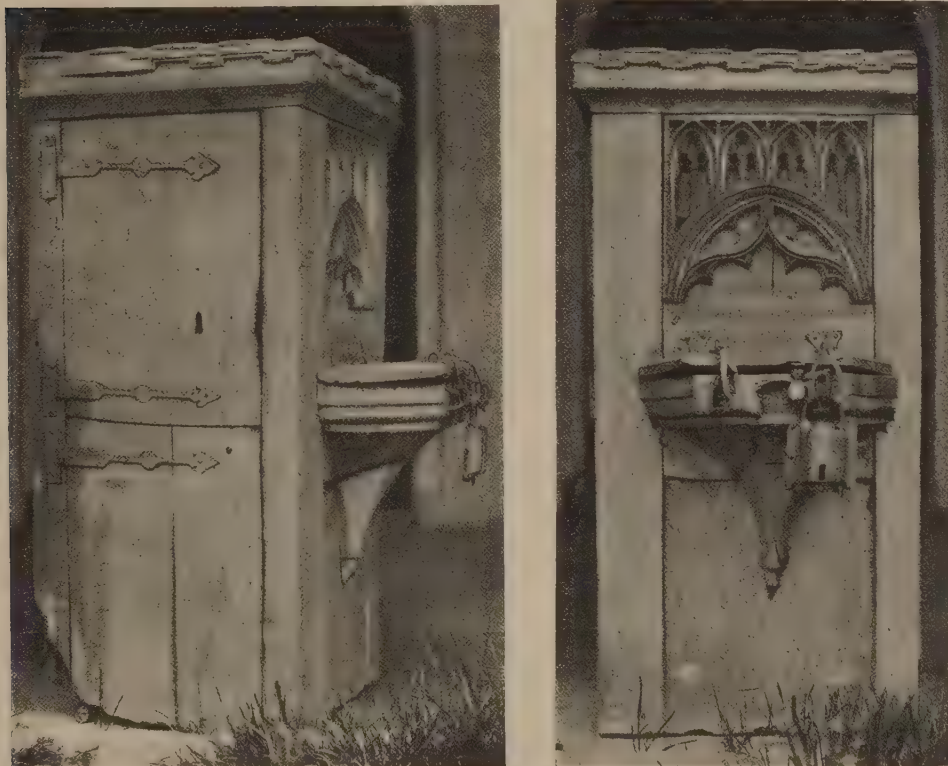


Fig. 1. Almery and money box (side and front views) in Wensley Church, Yorks.
(From photographs by Lord Bolton, F.S.A.)

deck an altar on festivals, a custom still kept up in some places, like St. George's Chapel at Windsor, by the piling up of alms dishes and spare pieces of plate, nearness to an altar was regarded as the most proper place, and probably such an arrangement as may yet be seen at Durham served at first in many churches. This is thus described in *Rites* :

In the north side of the quire there is an almye neere to the high altar fastened in the wall for to lay any thinge in pertaing to the high altar. Likewise there is another almye in the south side of the quire nigh the high altar enclosed in the wall to sett the challices the basons and the crewetts in that they did minister withall at the high masse with locks and keys for the said almyes.^a

But there was an obvious limit to the capacity of these wall cupboards, and the necessity soon arose of setting up a separate almye or cupboard of some size in which the reliquaries could be locked up.

At Christchurch, Canterbury, Archbishop Bouchier was allowed in 1480 to build his tomb *in spatio quod est in boriali parte chori . . . inter duas columpnas proximas Altari sancti Elphegi ubi nunc Armaria sunt ad res Altaris responendas*;^b that is, directly north of the high altar, which was flanked in the same line by the altars of St. Alphege and St. Dunstan. In the bay next to this tomb on the west was the great almye of the relics, *magnum armariolum reliquiarum*, a large wooden cupboard filled with a multitude of curious and precious things. The site of it is fixed by the agreement in 1443 for Archbishop Chichele's burial *ad partem borialem chori nostri inter locum Reliquiarum et introitum chori de vestibulo ad summum altare*,^c where his tomb still remains. The site of the great almye is now occupied by Archbishop Howley's cenotaph. A long list of the relics that were in it in 1315 has been preserved,^d and we have also the description of its contents when viewed by Erasmus.

At Rochester it is recorded that Richard of Walden, who was sacrist at the end of the thirteenth century, *propriis manibus fecit trabem supra majus altare cum apostolis in eadem incisis . et Andrea super stante . et Almarium cum Reliquiis et libros plures*.^e This almye probably stood on the north side of the presbytery in the recess westward of that containing Bishop Gilbert of Glanville's tomb.

At Winchester and Gloucester the relics were disposed somewhat differently.

In the former church the area behind the high altar once occupied by the Norman apse and the bishop's throne was walled off in the first half of the fourteenth century by stone screens and subdivided longitudinally from north to south in a somewhat interesting way.

^a *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Society, 107), 13.

^b Register S. (penes Dec. et Cap. Cant), f. 302 b.

^c *Ibid.* f. 111.

^d Cott. MS. Galba E iv. ff. 122-127. Printed in Dart, Appendix No. xiii. pp. xlii.-l., and in Legg and Hope, *Inventories of Christchurch, Canterbury* (London, 1902), 78-94.

^e Cott. MS. Vespasian, A 22, f. 92.

The western part formed a broad passage behind the altar itself, entered by the two doorways in the reredos wall, but had along its east side a tall cupboard of uncertain height, nearly 17 feet long, but only 20 inches deep, built entirely of masonry. The front had a small door of entry, 18 inches wide, at each end, and the intermediate space was probably filled with a strong iron grate through which the contents could be seen. The ends and back of this almery, which must have been made to hold the jewels and reliquaries, still remain to a height of 3 feet, but the part between the doors has been reduced to the level of the floor, probably for the sake of the ironwork and leading fixed in it. The almery floor is $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches above the pavement in front. Beyond the almery at each end is an ascent of four steps to a broad platform behind it, on which no doubt stood the usual altar, and presses for the vestments and other ornaments. From an inventory, taken apparently at the suppression of the Benedictine priory, of the jewels, relics, vestments, etc. it seems that the part of the church wherein they were kept was then called the Sextre.* The wall forming the eastern side of the enclosure is decorated on the outer front, which faced the shrine and chapel of St. Swithun, with a series of nine beautiful niches, each of which once held a pair of images. Beneath the niches are inscribed the names of the lost images, viz. :

KINÆGILSVS · SŪS BIRINVS ĒPC
 KINÆWALD^o REX ÆGBERTVS REX
 ADVLFVS REX ÆLVRED^o REX FILI^o EI^o
 EDWARD^o REX SÆNIOR ATHÆLSTAN^o REX FILI^o EI^o
 SŪA MARIA DOMINVS JESVS
 EDREDVS REX EDGARVS REX
 ÆMMA RÆGINA ALWINVS : ĒPC
 ATHÆLDRÆD^o REX SŪS EDWARD^o REX FILI^o EI^o
 ORNVTVS REX HÆRDÆCANVT^o REX FILI^o EI^o

And on the upper margin of the plain walling below is incised in fine bold lettering, in two lines :

CORPORA : SANCTORVM : SVNT : HIC : IN : PACÆ SEPVLTA :
 EX : MÆRITIS : QVORVM : FVLGENT : MIRACVLA : NVLTA :

At Gloucester a similar place to that at Winchester was formed behind the high altar, but owing to the ambulatory beyond, it was so narrow that there was little room beyond the usual passage way for the censing of the altar except for a

* Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Parker MS. cxi. pp. 355-358.

very shallow cupboard ; and the more precious jewels and relics were stowed away in two large recesses constructed within the masonry of the altar itself. Some remains of these may still be seen.

The rest of the treasures of the church were housed in a great almery which was placed, not in the presbytery, but in the north transept, where it yet remains.

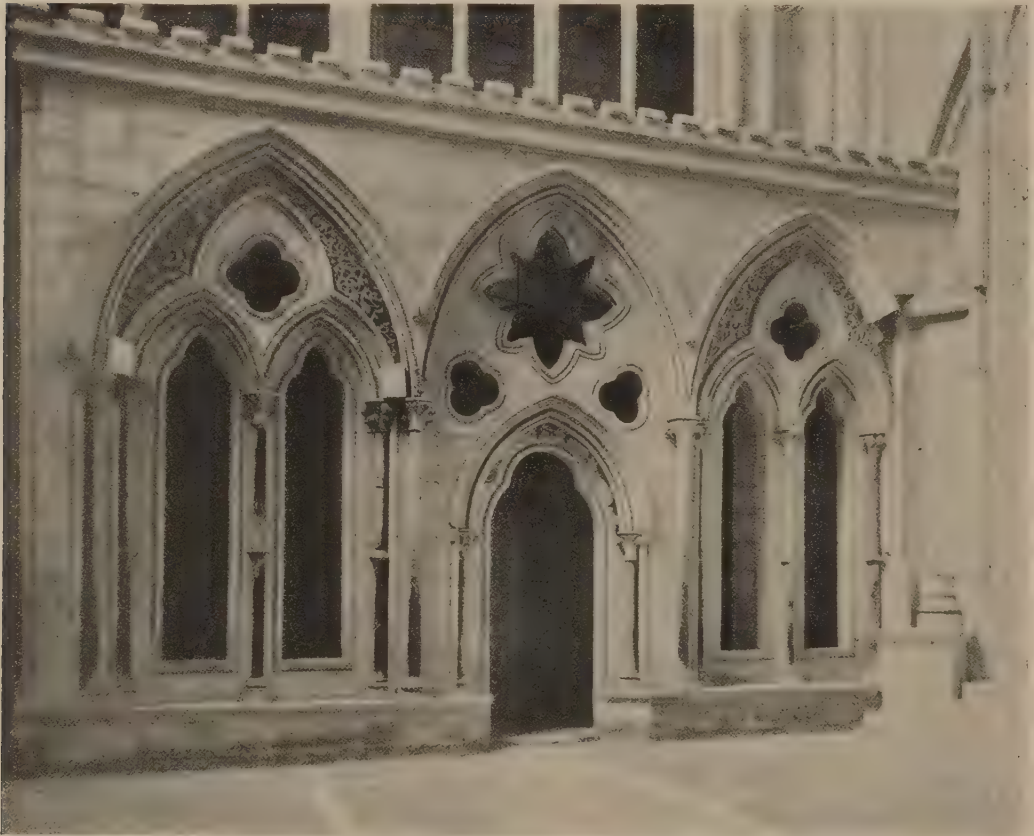


Fig. 2. The great almery of relics in the cathedral church of Gloucester.
(From a photograph by Mr. Samuel Gardner.)

It is a long and narrow structure of stone, of the second half of the thirteenth century, and of quite elaborate workmanship. (Fig. 2.) Externally it is about 27 feet long, 18 feet high, and 5 feet deep, and has in front an arcade of three pointed arches standing on a stone bench. The middle arch contains the doorway, which has over it a large octofoil opening, still grated with iron, and two smaller

trefoil openings. The side arches each contain a window, formed of two trefoiled lights with a quatrefoil above. In the engraving given by John Britton in his *Cathedral Antiquities* these window lights are shown as heavily grated with iron, but of this protection only the stumps are now left. The interior is only about 3 feet deep, and has a vaulted roof. At the back are three broad and shallow recesses, which, if Britton's drawing may be trusted, were in 1828 still fitted with wooden cupboards with panelled and painted doors.

In those churches which contained standing shrines like those of St. Thomas at Canterbury or St. Edward at Westminster, it followed quite naturally that some of the relics should be kept in the immediate neighbourhood of the shrine for the edification of the pilgrims who came to visit it.

At Durham the marks of the relic almeries are still visible on the north and south sides of the platform of St. Cuthbert's shrine, and the following interesting description of the almeries themselves may be found in *Rites* :

Also within the s^d feretorye, both of the north side and the south, there was almeryes of fine wenscote, beinge varnished and finelye painted and gilted finely over with little images verye seemly and beautifull to behould, for the reliques belonginge to St. Cuthb[ert] ito lye in, and within the s^d almeryes, did lye all the holy reliques that was ofered to that holy man St Cuthb[ert]: and when his shrine was drawne [upp] then the s^d almeryes were opened that every man y^t came thither at that time might see the holy reliques therein, so that for the costly reliques and Jewells that was in the same almeryes and other reliques that hung a bout within the s^d feretorye uppon the irons was accounted to bee the most sumptuous and richest Jewells in all this land.^a

The contents of these Durham almeries were so numerous that the feretrar who made a list of them in 1383 thought it necessary to index it for facility of reference.^b

At Canterbury there are like marks to those at Durham, which show that the aisle encircling the site of St. Thomas's shrine had a series of relic cupboards underneath the windows. One of those on the north side, from the grooves cut in the pavement by the door bolts, must have been a large one with double doors, which could be opened widely to exhibit what was contained within. Of a smaller almy on the south side the wooden sill is left. Owing apparently to the relics being in the special custody of the feretrar or shrine keeper, the lists of them are

^a *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Society, 107), 5.

^b *Durham Account Rolls* (Surtees Society, 100), ii. 425-440.

not included in the long list of the other relics kept in the church, which was drawn up in 1315.

At Westminster the altar of the relics stood apparently in the arch immediately to the east of St. Edward's shrine, but was removed to make room for the grave and monument of King Henry V. After the completion of that king's chantry chapel some of the more precious relics were translated thither, and there may still be seen in its side walls the recesses made to receive them. Unfortunately they have been despoiled of their doors and fittings.

Such of the relics as could not find room in King Henry V.'s chapel were kept in the almery of relics, which stood alongside the tomb of King Henry III. This we learn from the interesting depositions of the witnesses who came forward in 1498 to testify where King Henry VI. forty years before had desired to be buried.

It will suffice to quote what John Bothe the scrivener remembered, how that King Henry came into St. Edward's chapel with several of his lords and others, and having borrowed from Ralph Lord Cromwell his staff,

he poynted with the said staff the place the lengithe and the brede of his sepulture to be made there where than the Reliques stode, whiche was on the northe syde of the saide Shryne seying these wordys as this deponent remembyrthe, 'Here me thynketh is a convenient place.' And then the seide Kyng Henry commawnded the said Reliques to be removed frome the place wher they than stode to some other convenient place, to thentent his sepulture myght be made there. Wherupon the saide Reliques within ij dayes after that were removyd from thens to the place where they now stond on the baksyde of the hyghe aulter."^a

Another witness heard say "that Kyng Henry the vjth hadde chosyn his sepulture on the northsyde of Seint Edwardes Shryne where at that tyme the almery with the Reliques stode."^b

Several long and interesting inventories of the relics, etc. made by successive shrine keepers exist among the Abbey muniments.

At St. Albans the shrine of the saint stood behind the high altar, and under the arch immediately to the north of it is the wooden structure known as "the watching loft," but when and by what authority it was first so called I am unable to say.

^a Stanley, *Memorials* (ed. 1869), 604.

^b *Ibid.* 608.



Fig. 3. The feretrar's chamber and relic almeries in St. Alban's Abbey Church.
(From a photograph by Mr. W. H. Cox.)

In the Book of Benefactors, between two entries dated 1413 and 1429 respectively, is the entry:

Robertus de Malton^a clericus de Pipa contulit ad opus presentis ecclesie pro anima Radulphi Kesteven quondam Rectoris sancti Botulphi extra Aldrichegate London .xx.s. Et idem Robertus contulit nove camere feretrarii juxta maius altare .xx.s.^b

The "feretrar's new chamber" here referred to must be the existing structure, and before the building of abbot Wallingford's great reredos wall in later times it could fairly be described as "beside" or "near" the high altar.

It consists of two parts: a lower and an upper. (Fig. 3.) The lower part contains (i) a narrow cupboard on the west with a single door; (ii and iii) two large cupboards with double doors; and (iv) a fourth but somewhat narrower cupboard, also with double doors. East of these, but projecting about two feet in front of them, is a staircase to the upper story. This upper part considerably oversails the lower on both sides, the projection being masked by wooden groins. It forms a chamber about 17 feet long and half as wide, with a series of traceried windows along each side, and a panelled roof. The windows were originally furnished with either shutters or glazed casements. The height of the structure from the pavement of St. Alban's chapel is 17 feet.

It is now time to return to the almery which forms the main subject of this paper, the one that till lately stood in the presbytery of the abbey church of Selby. It occupied the whole of the space between two of the clustered pillars of the main arcade, and was a wooden structure about 14 feet long and about 8 feet high. In front it showed five broad traceried compartments, divided by buttresses, with a narrow cupboard or locker towards the west, surmounted by a moulded cornice with a deep hollow set with square flowers and other devices. The material throughout was oak.

The tall end cupboard was closed by a single door, with plain iron hinges, and a ring-handle, but the lock had been removed.

^a Robert of Malton was clerk of the Pipe of the Exchequer, and by letters patent of 26th February, 1402-3, was appointed parson of St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, in succession to Ralph Kesteven, but he apparently resigned within a few months. He may be the same Robert who was made a Baron of the Exchequer on 14th November, 1413, and confirmed 30th September, 1422.

^b Cott. MS. Nero D. 7, f. 114.



THE SELBY ALMERY, SHOWING INTERNAL ARRANGEMENT.



THE SELBY ALMERY, AT THE TIME OF THE FIRE OF 1906.

The five principal compartments were each $28\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and divided mid-way into two subdivisions. The lower consisted of plain boarding, but the upper one was an elaborately traceried door, with a simple iron handle just below the middle. These doors were not hinged to open in the usual way, but made to slide up and down in grooves, and held in place when shut by square oak rods or slips which fitted into the lower halves of the grooves on each side. (Plate XXXVII.)

When the doors were lowered a somewhat curious arrangement was disclosed. In the first place the compartments did not extend down to the pavement, but had boarded floors half way up. Above these floors, at 11 inches distance from the front, appeared a narrow belt of the stone wall crossing the arch behind, against which the almery was built, but the upper part of the wall was hidden by a wooden coving. The front edge of this coving was surmounted by an embattled cresting and formed an upper shelf, and its several mouldings had the hollows set with small square flowers. The Rev. A. G. Tweedie, now rector of Lavenham, but until lately vicar of Selby, to whom I am indebted for several interesting bits of information, tells me that the whole of this interior work bore ample traces of colour decoration, and that the outside still retained evidence of like ornamentation in gold and red. Mr. Tweedie is of opinion that the almery was not in its original position, but had been removed thither from the fourteenth-century vestry or sacristy on the opposite side of the presbytery. If that were so, it is curious that the almery should so well have fitted its last resting place, and it seems to me to have been made for it.

As to the use of the almery, it will be seen that its several compartments are well suited for the storage of reliquaries and other *jocalia*, but it is singular that no provision existed for locking the doors. Perhaps, however, the unusual way of keeping them shut was thought enough to render them thief-proof. The narrow western cupboard was only some 8 inches wide, and was probably for holding long objects like crosses or crosiers.

The pretty cresting and length of screenwork which appears surmounting the almery in Plate XXXVIII. was found by Mr. Tweedie amongst some lumber in the abbey and set up in 1900. It unfortunately perished in the fire with the almery itself, and both were so completely destroyed that beyond some of the door handles and the wall of masonry against which it stood, the only record of the Selby almery henceforth will be the photographs which I have been able to exhibit, and a few rough measurements.

For the photograph of the Selby almery reproduced in Plate XXXVII. I have to thank Mr. C. C. Hodges and Mr. J. P. Gibson, both of Hexham; for the other (Plate XXXVIII.) I am indebted to Mr. T. R. Cooper.

I must also thank Mr. Samuel Gardner for the photograph of the Gloucester almery (Fig. 2), and Mr. Cheesman of Selby and Mr. Gibson of Hexham for loans of lantern slides of views of the abbey church before and after the late fire.

XVII.—*On a Set of Table-knives in the British Museum made for John the Intrepid, Duke of Burgundy.* By O. M. DALTON, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Read 14th March, 1907.

IN the year 1855 the British Museum acquired a set of four knives with enamelled handles in a leather case decorated with incised designs. The handles are richly ornamented with shields of arms, mottoes, and floral motives in translucent enamel upon silver, the grip having in addition strips of the speckled maple-wood used in the manufacture of mazers. These knives deserve description and careful illustration both for their artistic merit and also for their historical interest, it being possible to identify the two different persons for whom the instruments and the sheath were severally made. These persons were John the Intrepid, Duke of Burgundy, father of Philip the Good, and his daughter Isabel, Countess of Penthievre.

The knives, which are four in number, two large and two small,^a formed a set as carried by the *écuyer tranchant* or esquire carver of a prince or great noble, and brought by him to the table when his lord had seated himself for the repast. The two larger, as we shall see below, were used by the esquire in carving; the two smaller probably by the lord himself for cutting up his meat and bread.

A few other knives, similar to those here described, are preserved in various collections, and of these the greater number belonged to the Dukes of Burgundy or their great retainers. They all bear the owner's arms in translucent enamel upon the pommels, and some are profusely decorated like those of John the Intrepid. But in others the ornament is less elaborate. In these examples the handle is all of gilt metal, with the mottoes, floral ornaments, and badges in low relief; only the shields are enamelled, and these are somewhat deeply sunk at the pommel end, not recurring upon the end nearest the blade. The following is a list of the

^a The total length of the two larger is 15 inches, that of the two smaller 9·4 and 8·3 inches; the blades of all four are now extremely thin. The knives were acquired with the Bernal Collection. They are reproduced on a small scale in the *Guide to the Mediæval Room* (British Museum, 1907), fig. 139, p. 180.

principal Burgundian knives or sets of knives existing in museums and collections as far as I have been able to ascertain them.^a

Knives with richly-enamelled handles :

1. The British Museum set of three knives here described, in decorated leather sheath, made for John the Intrepid, and apparently the oldest of the series.
2. Pair of knives in the Imperial Museum at Vienna with arms and motto (*aultre n'a(u)ray*) of Philip the Good, with the additions of a badge beneath the shields near the butts, and repeated immediately before the mottoes. This badge is the strike-a-light or *briquet de Bourgogne*. These knives (No. 38 in the *Toison d'Or* Catalogue) are very similar in style to No. 1, and have the same elaborate enamelled ornament.
3. Knife in the Wallace Collection at Hertford House (No. 765 in the Catalogue); very similar in every respect to No. 2, and bearing the same arms and motto. It was formerly in the collections of Signor Castellani and the Count de Nieuwerkerke. (Viollet le Duc, *Dictionnaire du mobilier français*, ii. 77.)
4. Knife in the Carrand Collection in the Bargello at Florence,^b enamelled, with the same arms repeated four times. It also bears the briquet and the motto *aultre n'aray*.
5. Wallace Collection (*Catalogue of Armour and Arms*, No. 749). Knife with the arms of Rollin, Chancellor of Philip the Good, and enamelled floral ornament, but no motto.
6. In the same Collection (Catalogue, No. 750). Knife with the arms of the Sire de Dancourt, grand master of artillery to Philip the Good. Here again there is no motto. The arms are only at the butt of the handle, but the remaining surface is richly decorated with enamelled floral ornaments.

^a Since this paper was read, several of the knives in the above list have been shown at the Exhibition of the Golden Fleece at Bruges (spring to autumn, 1907). They were mentioned in the *Catalogue de l'Exposition de la Toison d'Or*, to which references are given. It is possible that some of them may be reproduced in the large official work on the Exhibition, which is now in preparation.

^b *Catalogo del Reale Museo Nazionale di Firenze* (1898), p. 156, No. 855.

Knives of the less elaborate type :

1. The knife in the Museum of Le Mans, which is of exceptionally large size. It has the sunk enamelled shields on both sides near the butt, with arms of Philip the Good, his motto *aultre n'auray* in relief upon the handle, and the briquet executed in the same manner next the blade. With it is a cuir-boulli case, without cover, ornamented with scroll designs, and made to contain two large knives with one of smaller size. (*Toison d'Or* Catalogue, No. 37; Viollet le Duc, *Dictionnaire du mobilier français*, ii. 79; Hucher, *Bulletin de la Soc. d'Agriculture Sciences et Arts du Mans*, 1859.)
2. Similar knife in the Museum of the Louvre (Département du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance). Arms and motto the same as in No. 1, but instead of the briquet, a device composed of two Gothic letters *e* confronted, and united by a cord with tasselled ends.
3. Two knives in similar style with the same arms and motto in the Museum at Dijon. They are accompanied by a fine incised leather sheath, painted and gilded, on which the arms are repeated. L. Gonse, *Chefs d'œuvres des Musées de France: Sculptures, dessins, objets d'art*, pp. 151 (fig.), 152 (Paris, 1904). Viollet le Duc appears to have described these knives incorrectly.^a

With regard to the locality in which such knives were made, more than one indication is afforded by entries in the Burgundian inventories. In these registers, whenever a maker is named, he is usually described as resident either at Dijon or in Paris. An entry of the year 1374 is of especial interest, as it evidently relates to knives ornamented in much the same manner as our own.^b In this case the maker lived at Dijon, but the entry is not sufficient to decide the question; and as the connexion of John the Intrepid with Paris^c was very close, our knives are perhaps as likely to have been made there as in the Burgundian capital. As will

^a Viollet le Duc, *Dictionnaire*, ii. 77.

^b On the 13th of February to "*Jaquot Le Topetet, coustelier, demorant à Dijon: 15 fr. pour 5 paires de cousteaux, enguaignez et garnis d'argent et d'esmail.*" This Le Topetet had been fournisseur to the Duke from 1372, and died in 1398. For other references see Bernard Prost, *Inventaires mobiliers*, &c. Index, s.v. *Couteliers*. The knives made for various dukes by the well-known cutlers of Langres seem to have been for the most part hunting knives or weapons.

^c He had a residence there, the Hôtel de Bourgogne, part of which still exists. See C. Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie française*, ii. 108.

be seen from the illustration (Plate XXXIX.), the enamelled ornament of the handles, which are all decorated in the same manner, consists of the shield of arms four times repeated, and of floral designs, either forming a continuous scroll, or composed of separate flowers. Detached flowers of the same kind alternate with the words of the motto, which is in every case repeated upon both sides, and reads: *s'il plaist a dieu*. At the back of the handles there are narrow bands of small quatrefoils reserved in the metal upon a blue enamelled ground. (Fig. 1.)

The colours used for the enamels are dark blue, red, purple, black, and translucent green. The silver base upon which the enamels are executed has been gilded throughout.

The arms upon the shields are Burgundy modern dimidiated with Hennegau (Hainault)-Holland. These must be the arms assumed by John the Intrepid in 1385, when as Count of Nevers he married Margaret of Bavaria, Countess of Hennegau and Holland.^a Presumably they would be borne by him until 1404, when he succeeded to the dukedom and assumed the arms of Burgundy, as seen upon his seals. It thus appears that the knives were made between the years 1385 and 1404; they are therefore older than the other examples previously mentioned, all of which seem to date from the time of Philip the Good.

The motto *S'il plaît à Dieu* is sufficiently vague in its tenour, and is such as any one might have adopted in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. I have been unable to find it elsewhere in connexion with John the Intrepid, and researches kindly made by M. Louis Paris,^b of the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels, have not led to the desired result. The motto, or a variation of it, was used by the family of Kerlech in Brittany; and Chassant records a variant as adopted by an Order of the Holy Spirit said to have been founded in the early fourteenth century, by Louis King of Jerusalem and Sicily and Count of Provence.^c

Monsieur Paris notes, however, that the motto, as it appears on the knives,

^a H. Grote, *Stammtafeln*, 307 and 261; John Anderson, *Royal Genealogies*, 2nd ed. (London, 1736), Tables 360 and 352. Upon the knives Burgundy modern is differenced by the engrailing of the bordure.

As Countess of Nevers Margaret used upon her seals: 1, Burgundy modern; 2, Bavaria; 3, Burgundy ancient; 4, Hainault. In this case, owing to the dimidiation, the two Burgundy quarters are omitted.

For information as to these arms I am indebted to Mr. Max Rosenheim, F.S.A., and to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

^b At the instance of M. Destrée, director of the *Musée des arts décoratifs*, Brussels, who was good enough to transmit the inquiry to M. Paris.

^c The Order seems also to have been called *Droit Désir*.



SET OF TABLE KNIVES AND CASE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. (½ LINEAR)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

is to be seen in the stained glass window of the choir in the church of Anderlecht, near Brussels. Here it accompanies the portrait of Barbe de Montfort, who is represented with her husband Maximilian de Hornes, seigneur of Gaesbeek, etc. etc. This at least proves that it was in use in the Low Countries at a time not very distant from that at which the knives were made.



Fig. 1 Pendant in the British Museum with monogram of Oliver of Blois and his wife Ysabel; and ornament on the backs of the knife-handles.

The cypher upon the sheath enables us to follow the history of these knives after they passed out of the possession of their original owner. It is composed of the letters Y and O, which, as Mr. Hope has pointed out, must represent the initials of Ysabel, daughter of John the Intrepid, and her husband, Oliver of Blois, Count of Penthièvre.^a The knives seem therefore to have become the property of Ysabel either as a wedding gift or else by the terms of her father's will; and at some time or other she must have had a new case made for them. The British Museum possesses a small pendant, formerly enamelled, of the kind commonly used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to decorate harness, on which a very similar cypher occurs. (Fig. 1.) The leather sheath itself is a fine example of its kind, ornamented with bold floral scrolls in a good style, and bearing in addition to the cypher the figure of a peasant carrying a hoe over his shoulder, the motto *Pendure*, and a badge consisting of a *chantepleure* or *arrosoir*, from the base of which drops of water are falling.^b (See Plate XXXIX.) The *chantepleure* was a watering-pot, usually

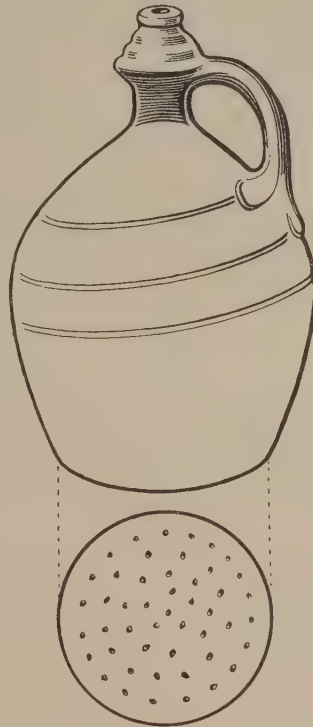


Fig. 2. Earthenware watering-pot in the British Museum.

^a James Anderson, *Royal Genealogies*, ii. Table 360.

^b For the *chantepleure* see Victor Gay, *Glossaire archéologique*, s.v. *arrosoir*. Examples found in London are figured in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, v. 345-6, where the story of Valentine of Milan is also told.

Two *chantepleures* were found in 1906 in the City Ditch north of All Hallows Church, London Wall. *Archæologia*, lx. 243.

of earthenware, in common use in the Middle Ages, and represented by a good example in the British Museum. (Fig. 2.) It consists of a globular vessel with narrow neck, and a flat bottom pierced with a number of holes, like the rose of a modern watering-pot. When used, it was immersed until full; the thumb or finger was then placed upon the neck, and the vessel lifted out of the water. As long as the thumb was kept in position the water remained in the vessel; the moment the thumb was raised, it commenced to fall in a shower or spray.

This utensil has a historical interest in that it was adopted as a badge by Valentine of Milan when, in 1407, her husband the Duke of Orleans was murdered in the streets of Paris by order of the very John the Intrepid for whom our knives were made.^a It is an obvious mourner's emblem, and with it the duchess adopted the motto "*plus ne m'est rien*," expressive of the inconsolable grief from which she died in the following year. Both badge and motto are found upon her tomb in the church of the Cordeliers at Blois, where they must have been seen by the Countess of Penthhièvre. The occurrence of a similar badge upon the object before us therefore suggests that this sheath may itself have been made at some time of conspicuous bereavement, perhaps after the death of the Duke or the Count, for the *chantepleure* is not likely to have been selected at random at a period when its symbolic meaning was a matter of common knowledge. The melancholy motto *J'endure* accords very well with this supposition.

The sheath is an excellent specimen of the incised leather-work so popular in Italy and other countries in the Middle Ages. It is not quite equal to the example in the Bargello at Florence,^b for in that case the ornamentation is of equal excellence on both sides, whereas in the present instance only one side is fine, the other bearing geometrical ornament of inferior quality. This inferior surface was evidently worn next the esquire's side, and it was not thought worth while to waste too much labour upon its embellishment.

A few notes may be subjoined as to the purpose for which such knives were made and the manner in which they were used. In his *État du Duc*, Olivier de la Marche, of the household of the Duke of Burgundy, describes the duties of the *écuyers tranchants* or esquire carvers in the year 1474;^c and although this period is almost a century later than that to which our knives belong, the usages of the

^a C. Paradin, *Devises héroïques* (Lyons, 1557), 91. For the circumstances connected with the murder of the Duke of Orleans see Barante, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne*, ii. 419.

^b Reproduced by G. Sangiorgi, *La Collection Carrand au Bargello* (1895), pl. 82; but better by Victor Gay, *Glossaire archéologique*, 481. It has the Annunciation and an armorial device on backgrounds of fine floral scrolls.

^c V. Gay, *Glossaire archéologique*, s.v. *Couteau*.

ducal household had probably undergone but little change. We have to imagine the duke seated at a table facing down the hall, and approached from the opposite side by those who performed the service. The annexed figure (Fig. 3) from the famous "Hours of the Duc de Berri," painted at the beginning of the fifteenth century,^a and therefore almost contemporaneous with our knives, shows the uncle of Charles VI. dining in state with his chamberlain and esquires in attendance. In the foreground stands an esquire carver holding in his hand a knife of the same form as ours.^b Amongst the plate on the left side of the picture we may remark a covered vessel not dissimilar from the famous gold cup presented by this very prince to his nephew, and now a principal treasure of the Gold Ornament Room in the British Museum.



Fig. 3. The Duc de Berri at dinner : carvers in the foreground.

(From the reproduction in *Le Musée Condé: Manuscrits*, Paris, 1900.)

The illustration sufficiently explains the description given by Olivier de la Marche, for the dinner of a Duc de Berri probably differed in little from that of a Duc de Bourgogne. The *écuyer tranchant*, he says, placed his two large carving knives upon the table with their blades pointing towards his master, but covered by a white cloth. The small knife which accompanied them was laid beyond them with its handle towards and within reach of the duke, for whose personal use it was intended. At the appointed time the esquire advanced to the table directly opposite the duke, and there carved the meat with his two large knives. He used one to cut, the other to support and carry, transferring with it the slices from the joint to the plate or trencher. This was a process requiring some dexterity, and its acquisition formed part of an esquire's education down to about the middle of the sixteenth century, when the introduction of forks rendered the carver's task less difficult. Our two larger knives are such a pair, and were

^a In the Musée Condé at Chantilly. See *Le Musée Condé: Le Cabinet des Livres: Manuscrits* (Paris, 1900), i. 64.

^b This was the usual form of carving-knives: in fact it is much the same as the form still preferred in France.

therefore employed not by the duke but by his carvers. The small knives, though kept in the same leather case and also consigned to the esquire's care, were in all probability used by the duke to cut up his meat and bread. One of them may perhaps be a *parepain*, a smaller instrument than the *taillepain*,^a or large bread-knife with which the servant cut the lord's bread into slices for the trencher, though we are told that the *parepain* was often kept in a separate sheath.

Though Olivier de la Marche only mentions one small knife, and the case in the Museum of Le Mans has only room for one such, the early inventories clearly speak of two as a common number,^b and the set belonging to John the Intrepid is thus by no means abnormal. The entries in the inventories seem to show that the sets of knives were not always uniform, but that the grouping of the different kinds in the cases occasionally varied.

Those who are curious in the matter of carving in ancient times may with advantage consult the early inventories, and the *Bokes of Nurture and Kervynge*, edited by Dr. Furnivall for the Roxburgh Club.^c A number of interesting details are also to be found in Victor Gay's *Glossaire archéologique, s.v. Couteau*; also in the second volume of Viollet le Duc's *Dictionnaire du Mobilier* under the same word. Among other facts there mentioned is the custom in princely houses of using knives with handles of different materials and colours at different seasons of the ecclesiastical year: thus ebony handles were favoured in Lent and those of ivory at Easter. The materials used for handles were very various: crystal, amber, and woods of different kinds being all employed in addition to chased, nielloed, or enamelled metal. The Carrand Collection in the Bargello at Florence^d contains fine examples of such medieval knives, one of which has been mentioned earlier in this paper. A set in the Opera del Duomo at Siena has nielloed ornament on silver upon the handles, and still preserves its *cuir-bouilli* sheath. Medieval knives of fine quality have been exhibited at various times before English archæological societies.^e

^a Another large bread knife was the *chapepain*, which appears to have somewhat resembled the broad-bladed *présentoir* used for clearing up crumbs and for serving fish or pastry to the guests. Examples of the *présentoir* may be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Salting Collection), in the Bargello, the Louvre, and other museums.

^b Inventory of A.D. 1458: a case for "*quatre couteaux à servir le roy nostre Seigneur à table. Quatre paires de couteaux à tailler sur la table, garnis de quatre paires de parepains.*" (Laborde, *Inventaires des ducs de Bourgogne*, No. 1192.) In an inventory of A.D. 1368 we read the following: *Payé à Thomas de Frevillier, coustellier, demourant à Paris, 12 fr. pour une paire de cousteaux de table avec le taillepain, le petit coustel et les gainnes* (B. Prost, *Inventaires mobiliers . . . des Ducs de Bourgogne*, vol. i. p. 166, Paris, 1902).

^c Published in 1866. See also the references given in the *Archæological Journal*, xxvii. 78.

^d See the *Catalogo del R. Museo Nazionale di Firenze*, Nos. 855 ff. pp. 156-7.

^e *Archæological Journal*, ix. 120 (three knives in a case); *Proceedings*, 2nd Series, xvii. 9.

XVIII.—*Excavations on the site of the Roman city at Silchester, Hants, in 1906.*

By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A.

Read 20th June, 1907.

THE report which I have the honour of submitting to the Society, on behalf of my colleagues, of the work carried out by the Executive Committee of the Silchester Excavation Fund in 1906, is the seventeenth successive account of our investigations.

Operations were begun on 17th May and carried on without break until 19th November, by which date the unavoidable filling in had been completed. The work throughout was supervised and directed by our colleague Mr. Mill Stephenson, to whom not only ourselves but antiquaries in general are once more greatly indebted for his kind and disinterested help.

In pursuance of the plan outlined in last year's report our investigations were again confined to the grass field near the middle of the Roman site. We started with the hope of completing the excavation of this field, but the unlooked-for spell of dry weather in the autumn made the ground so hard that the work could not be extended beyond the limits of one *insula*.

This *insula*, which we have numbered XXXIV., lies immediately north of that containing the Baths, and eastwards of *Insula* VI., which was excavated in 1905. It extends east and west and measures $338\frac{1}{2}$ feet along its northern, but 361 feet along the southern margin. The western end measures 220 feet and forms very nearly a right angle with the southern side, but the eastern end

is somewhat narrower, and its oblique line measures only $206\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The total area of the *insula* was about $1\frac{3}{4}$ acre. (Plate XL.)

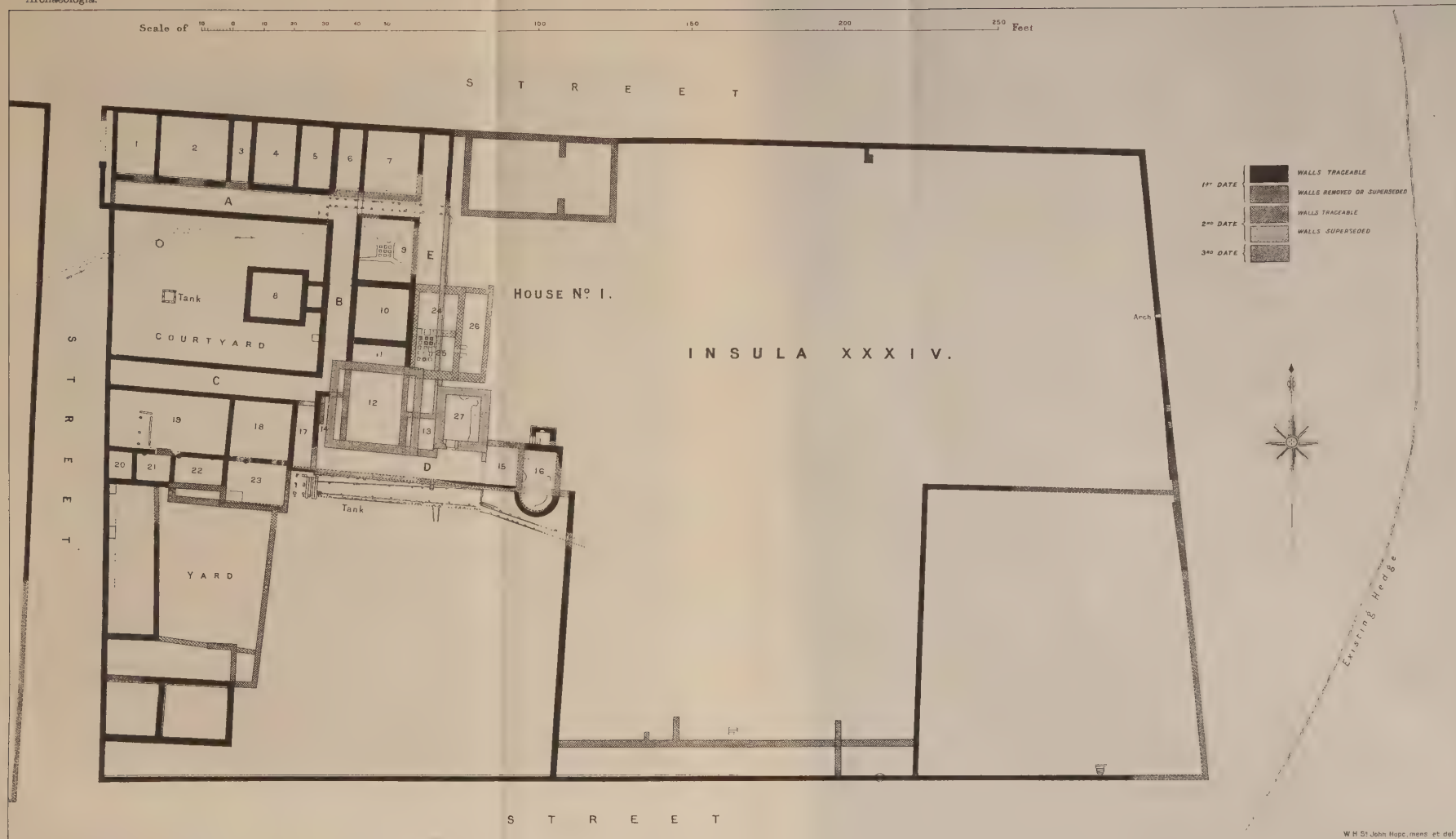
Insula XXXIV. was bounded by streets on the north, west, and south, but to the east of it no definite traces of street or lane could be found. Like *Insula* XIX., which was excavated in 1898, it was completely enclosed by walls, the lines of which were everywhere intact save at the south-east corner. Also like *Insula* XIX., that under notice contained but one important building, a large house of the courtyard type, which, with its outbuildings, filled about one-third of the area at its western end.

The rest of the *insula* was more or less open ground, but in the south-east corner a section about 90 feet square was enclosed by walls. From this another wall extended westwards parallel with and distant about $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the southern margin of the *insula* for 116 feet, where it abutted on a wall forming the eastern boundary of another enclosed area south of the house. The long and narrow space between the two walls was probably a shed of some kind. Towards its west end are the broken ends of two walls going north from it, which could not be traced further, and near its eastern end is the foundation of an older wall running northwards for 18 feet from the boundary of the *insula*.

The remains of the boundary wall show that it was well built throughout of the usual flint rubble, 18 inches thick. The north-east angle had a quoin of large stones, and the east wall at 54 feet from its north end was pierced by an archway, 18 inches wide, constructed of tiles. The purpose of this is a puzzle. Equally hard of explanation is a hollowed out space $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long in the thickness of the wall some feet further south. Beyond this again is another odd feature: it consists of two series, 3 feet apart, each of four imbrex roofing tiles, laid close together, towards the outer face of the wall.

The large house which filled the north-western corner of the *insula* consisted of three ranges of chambers, a northern, an eastern, and a southern, built round a courtyard 68 feet long and about 48 feet wide, the western end of which abutted on the street separating *Insula* XXXIV. from *Insula* VI. The northern range, which extended along the street there bounding the *insula*, was partly explored in 1873 by the Rev. J. G. Joyce, who also laid open the corridors round the courtyard and a square building projecting into it from the eastern corridor.

The western end of the north wing was covered by, apparently, a shallow portico 33 feet in breadth projecting into the street, with an opening in the middle of uncertain width. The entrance from this into the house seems to have opened into the room (1) behind it, and not into the corridor (A).





SILCHESTER.—MOSAIC PAVEMENTS FROM INSULA XXXIV.

The north wing itself consisted of a row of seven chambers (1—7) along the street, all of different sizes and with mosaic floors,* with an eighth division at the east end, which, from its having no mosaic floor, possibly contained a staircase to an upper story. This division actually formed the north end of the outer corridor E, and was itself outside the wing. The floors of the rooms were all of plain red *tesserae* with the exception of that in room 2, which had also a middle panel of finer coloured mosaic, measuring 11 feet 3 inches by 10 feet 1½ inch. This was taken up in August, 1874, by Mr. Joyce, and removed to Stratfieldsaye House, where it was inserted in the floor of the hall. The general design is shown in Plate XLI, from a coloured rubbing of the original, made by our colleague Mr. J. Challenor Smith. The smaller mosaic shown on the same plate, also from a coloured rubbing by Mr. Smith, is likewise preserved at Stratfieldsaye, but there does not seem to be any record of the building whence it was removed.

The floors in the north wing, owing to the fall of the ground from north to south, were about 3 feet below the level of the street, and the wall on that side was found standing to that height. There were, however, no doorways in it from the street into any of the rooms. To what purpose the several chambers were devoted is a matter of speculation.

The north corridor (A) extended along the southern side of the wing, and was 7 feet 8 inches wide, with a pavement of coarse red mosaic. Owing to the fall of the ground its level was 18 inches below that of the rooms that opened out of it.

The eastern corridor, which extended southwards from its eastern end, was a few inches narrower, and paved in a patchy way with drab stone *tesserae* and the common tile mosaic. Opening out of the middle of its west side was a lobby or passage 7 feet wide and 4 feet 10 inches deep, and paved with red mosaic, into a rectangular chamber about 16 feet square. Both passage and chamber project into the courtyard of the house. The latter had walls of flint rubble with strong tile quoins, but there was nothing to show how it was paved.

What these detached or semi-detached buildings were is a puzzle, but they may have served as *lararia*, or chapels set apart for the worship of the *lares*, whose images would have stood within them.

Of the rooms east of the corridor (B) the northernmost (9) was one of some

* Mr. Joyce's notes on the house, for a copy of which we are indebted to the Rev. H. G. Monro, mention the discovery of a piece of lead piping in Room 5.

size which had originally been a winter room. The hypocaust that warmed it was of the composite order, with a square chamber in the middle containing nine *pilæ* built of tiles. From this three flues radiated, two to the northern angles of the room, the other to the western side. The stoking passage extended to the east wall. An examination of this hypocaust revealed some curious features in its construction. The *pilæ* did not stand merely upon a cement floor as is usually the case, but upon a bed of large tiles laid diagonally with respect to the sides of the chamber. These tiles were bedded in cement, under which was a series of box-flue tiles, arranged end to end saltirewise, with one row extending beneath the stoking passage. These flue tiles were apparently meant to serve as a damp course, since they did not communicate in any way with the heating chamber or the warming flues, and were effectually covered by the tiles that overlaid them.

At some later period in the history of the house the hypocaust was dismantled and filled up with clay, upon which was laid a mosaic floor; a fragment of this, of coarse red *tesseræ*, remained against the east wall.

The next chamber southwards (10) was nearly as large as the winter room, and from the position of the wall flues in the latter, probably had a wide opening of intercommunication with it. Like so many other rooms in the house it was floored with red mosaic.

The next division (11) was apparently a passage 6 feet wide through the range, but its south wall as well as its floor have been destroyed by a later building.

South of it was apparently another large room (12), but the site of this has been absorbed by the building just mentioned.

Besides the passage (11) there was another, 5 feet wide, through the range between rooms 7 and 9. Both passages opened originally into an outer corridor or pentise, 8 feet wide, which traversed the whole breadth of the house. In its southern end was what may have been a small room (13) with a red mosaic floor; but this may equally likely have been a branch of another corridor (D) which extended across the southern end of the eastern range of the house. This corridor originally had a similar branch (14), but somewhat longer, at its western end, but this was encroached upon in later times by the building already referred to.

The main section of the corridor (D) was probably about 7 feet wide and 54½ feet long, with a floor of red mosaic. Its eastern end led into a small room (15), roughly 11 feet square, also paved with red *tesseræ*, which formed the ante-chamber to another of about the same size (16), but with a semicircular apse

opening out of its south side. (Fig. 1.) This apsidal room had a composite hypocaust under the rectangular portion, and was paved, at any rate in part, with red mosaic. The stoking was done from a small external chamber on the north, of which no such perfect example has yet been found at *Calleva*. It measured internally only 5 feet by 4 feet, and had a doorway and descending steps in its west wall, and a seat with rounded back for the stoker opposite the stoke-hole. (See fig. 1.)

Returning to the main divisions of the house, there still remain to be described the features of the southern wing.



Fig. 1. Apsidal chamber and stokehole of hypocaust in House No. 1, *Insula XXXIV*.
(From a photograph by Victor White & Co. of Reading.)

This had towards the courtyard a corridor (c), 8 feet wide, floored with red mosaic. The south-east corner of this was encroached upon to the extent of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet by the western branch (14) of corridor D, but for what reason is doubtful. Next to this, on the west, was a passage (17) $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and 20 feet long

running through the range. The southern end of this for 8 feet was paved with red *tesserae*, and had a doorway on the east opening into the corridor (D) there. The northern part on the contrary had only a mortar bed for its floor, and as there was a difference of level of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, owing to the fall of the ground, between the part paved with mosaic and the main corridor to the north, this mortar bed no doubt supported a flight of steps from the upper to the lower level, which extended eastwards all along this southern end of the house.

The remainder of corridor C extends in front of two chambers (18, 19), one about 19 feet square, the other of the same width but twice as long. Nothing was found to indicate the uses of these chambers, or how they were floored. The larger was perhaps subdivided by partitions, and the line of one towards its western end seems to be indicated by part of a row of posts found there.

Outside these chambers to the south was a series of others. Two of these (20, 21) towards the west were of small size, but the third (22) extended further south, and had another room (23) of the same width, but somewhat longer, east of it.

An examination of the wall separating these rooms from the two larger chambers to the north revealed the curious fact that there was embedded in it at regular intervals a series of tree trunks. They are roughly 11 feet apart from centre to centre and not quite in the same line as the wall. The trunks varied in diameter from 16 to 22 inches and remained to a height of about 2 feet. The tops were much decayed, but the bases were cut off square, and carefully packed round with flints. Further reference to these trunks will be made presently.

Extending southwards along the street from the chambers just described for 49 feet was a building 15 feet wide which had had a cement floor. Along its west wall there seems to have been a counter of masonry about 26 inches wide, but the purpose of the building is obscure.

Beyond it to the south, after an interval of $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet, was another building of uncertain use with its west end abutting on the street. It was 21 feet in width over all and 43 feet in length, and was divided by a cross wall into two chambers of nearly equal size, the easternmost being the bigger. The south-eastern quoin of the building was formed of white tiles, a most uncommon variety as regards *Calleva*.

From the north-east angle of this building ran two walls. The one went northwards for some 12 feet and then returned westwards as if to form one side of a court between the two buildings, but after $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet it was broken off. The other wall went eastwards for 7 feet and then ran northwards for about 60 feet to

the southern wall of room 23 of the house, along the line of which it returned westwards. This room had evidently been destroyed, and room 22 partly so, on account of it, as the wall turned at a right angle opposite to that dividing the two rooms, and again after a few feet to join the wall south of rooms 21 and 20. Room 22 was thus reduced to the same width as the two lesser rooms, while room 23 seems to have been done away with altogether. Its area, however, continued to be utilized, since a patch of *opus signinum* flooring remained in the south-west corner of it, laid up to the newer wall, which (as will be seen from the plan) was thinner than the older.

In the long section of the wall just described, at 33 feet from its south end, was a circular sinking 18 inches in diameter, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet to the north another only 12 inches in diameter. Both holes were filled up with earth, but there can be little doubt that like the instance further north they mark the place of two timber posts that have entirely decayed away.

As to the object of the other posts an explanation may be forthcoming from a discovery made on the site of room 23. Just below the level of the later *opus signinum* paving and overlaid by a bed of clay were found several layers of pieces of worked timber. (Fig. 2.) They mostly lay north and south, with others, some above, some below, crossing them at different angles, and many bore traces of having been scorched by fire. From the mortise holes and other features these timbers had clearly formed part of some framed construction, and their position is suggestive of their association with the adjacent line of posts, probably as a partition in front of them. The clay that overlaid them and in which they were embedded was no doubt derived from the filling in between the timber framing. One piece of boarding was of special interest as bearing a deep cutting, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, made by a saw, and all the pieces show signs of having been worked into shape by the same tool. Traces of other similar timbers were found further west, but it was not thought necessary to remove a considerable depth of soil merely to uncover them. After the collapse of the woodwork a wall of flint rubble was built in its place, but not quite in the same line as the posts, but whether this was done forthwith or after some interval of time it is a little difficult to say.

In addition to this alteration in the south wing an important change was made, perhaps about the same time, to the eastern wing. This was the building out of a new winter room eastwards of chamber 10 and the passage 11, apparently in place of room 9. From its plan it seems to have been divided into two equal divisions (24 and 25), probably by an archway or some such

opening, and thus formed one apartment $25\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. The hypocaust, which was a pillared one, was stoked through an opening in the east wall of 25 from a long and narrow furnace room (26) overlapping both divisions of the room. The northern part of this no doubt served as a wood store. The hypocaust contained two sets of *pilæ* separated from one another by a cross

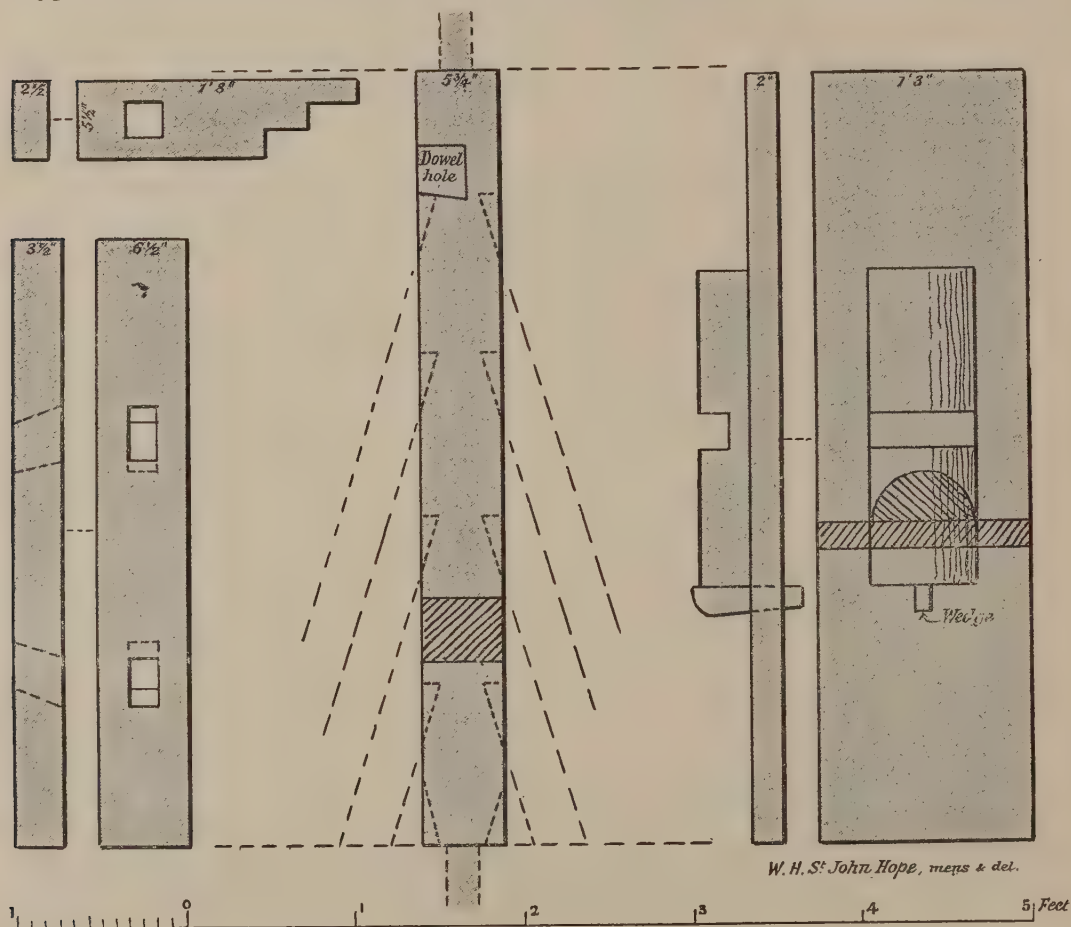


Fig. 2. Worked timbers found in House No. 1, *Insula XXXIV.*, under the floor of room 23.

wall pierced with several openings. It will be seen from the plan that the new winter room absorbed a considerable length of the middle part of corridor E.

The supersession and filling up of the hypocaust in room 19 probably took place upon the completion of the new winter room 24, 25.

The next addition to the building seems to have been the block which lies to the north-east of the house. It is separated from it by an interval of about 4 feet, perhaps for a staircase, and extended along the street for 54 feet from the corner of the house. It measured internally $46\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $23\frac{1}{2}$ feet, but was subdivided by a wall pierced with a wide opening into two unequal divisions. This block was planned to be warmed by a hypocaust, the arched stokehole of which exists in its east wall. The lower part of several of the wall-flues also remain, and the chases for others, but as no signs whatever of any *pilæ* could be found, nor of any cement or other floor on which they could have stood, it is quite certain that the hypocaust was not proceeded with. Moreover, the wall-flues have no openings at the bottom for the entry into them of the heated air, and contrary to the usual Callevan arrangement, which provides for this by a sloping passage below each flue, they could only have been made effective by breaking out the bottom ends of the flues, as in a similar case found last year at Caerwent. This, however, had not been done.

This block was clearly planned in the first instance for a drying-room in connexion with some industry; but whether it was ever completed, or if completed whether it was warmed by braziers, are questions that must remain unanswered, as must be also the further problem as to its use, if not heated in any way.

The last alterations in the plan of the house also raise some interesting questions. Although it has been assumed that rooms 15 and 16 belong to the earlier setting out, it is quite possible that they represent a later addition following upon the destruction (of which there is no doubt) of the winter rooms 24, 25, and the restoration to its full length of the outer corridor E. (See fig. 3.)

At a still later date the southern end of the eastern wing was taken down, and there was built over its site a large room (12) measuring $23\frac{1}{2}$ feet from north to south, and 25 feet from east to west. As the older rooms only measured 17 feet from east to west this new room, as the plan shows, so intruded itself into the two corridors B and E as to reduce the passage of the former to 2 feet 9 inches and of the latter to 3 feet 3 inches. Its walls were $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, and strongly built of flint rubble, with tile quoins, on a regular foundation of wooden piling, probably on account of the number of older walls which underlay it. It was no doubt entered from the passage (11) on the north, but the door sill had been destroyed, as had also every trace of its flooring. From its south-east corner, and in line with it, another wall of equally massive construction ran eastwards for $4\frac{3}{4}$ feet and then returned northwards against a second new chamber (27) of more

remarkable character. This measured $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width and $14\frac{3}{4}$ feet in length from north to south. Its north wall was $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, but the other three were as much as 3 feet thick, and all were strongly built of flint rubble. The east and west axes of the two chambers are nearly in line, but for no apparent reason, as



Fig. 3. Eastern wing of House No. 1, *Insula XXXIV*., looking south.
(From a photograph by Victor White & Co.)

the two rooms were separated by an interval of nearly 5 feet, and the smaller chamber was entered from the transverse corridor D.

Concerning this chamber our colleague Mr. George E. Fox has kindly contributed the following descriptive notes :

“The room was entered by a single doorway of narrow dimensions near its south-west angle, the sill and jambs of which were of stone. The sill only now remains. (See fig. 4.) It is of one massive stone, 6 feet by 3 feet 1 inch, with an area of 3 feet by 2 feet $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, the size of the doorway, sunk in it, the sinking

being $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep. This sinking leaves a fillet $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide across the front of the doorway to form a stop against which to shut the door, and also on either hand a bed for the stone jambs to rest on, showing that each had a thickness of 1 foot.* Stops in sills such as that described are of common occurrence in Roman construction. Between the jambs the face of the sill is cut back half an inch;



Fig. 4. Vaulted chamber in House No. 1, *Insula XXXIV*. The view shows the stone threshold of the door and the fragments of the fallen vault. (From a photograph by Victor White & Co.)

* The indications of massive stone jambs are worthy of note. Heavy stones of this kind are rarely to be found in the south of Britain, but wherever stone of sufficient size was obtainable they may be come upon, and are very characteristic of Roman work. For example, monolithic stone jambs were used in some at least of the doorways of the mile castles on the Wall of Hadrian, and a good specimen is to be seen in the baths of *Cilurnum*, a station on that wall. In the above instances they were run into grooves in the sill on each side. Openings of the same massive construction may be seen in the ruins of the public baths of *Uriconium* (Wroxeter), in Shropshire, and coming south another example is to be found in the bath chambers of the villa at Whitcombe in Gloucestershire.

and at 11 inches and at 2 feet 1 inch respectively from the east angle of the doorway occur two fragments of iron, small bolts joined to plates let into the front of the sill. They are difficult to account for, but may have had to do with the fastening of the door. On the inside of the stop, and close to and parallel with it, is a wide flat groove in the sill sloping to the east angle of the doorway, where was the place of the lower pivot of the door, to allow the pivot to be pushed into its socket when the door was hung.

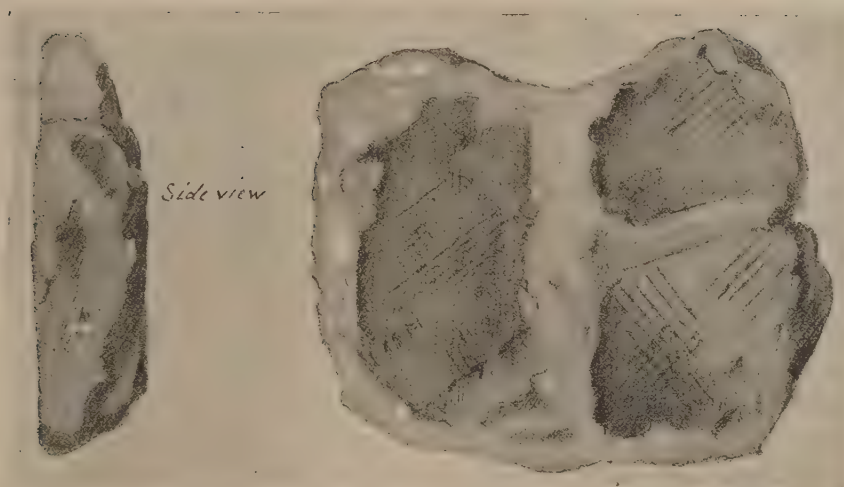
Against the pivot hole the sill has been much fractured, and there is a break in the stop at this point. Appearances lead to the belief that the door had been forcibly dragged outwards after the sill and stop had been broken, to enable the pivot to be got out. Subsequently the doorway appears to have been blocked or partially blocked with rubble.

One other point is noticeable. In the surface of the sill four concentric portions of circles, slight flat grooves, are perceptible. In the sills of Pompeian houses occasionally a slight striation shows that the door, sagging on its pivots through constant dragging, has caused an indentation by the pressure of its outer edge on the threshold; but the shallow groovings at intervals in this instance suggest that the doorway was closed rather by a grate than a door, some of the ends of the bars of which have made the indents mentioned. The grate being hung on pivots sagged in the same way as a door would do.

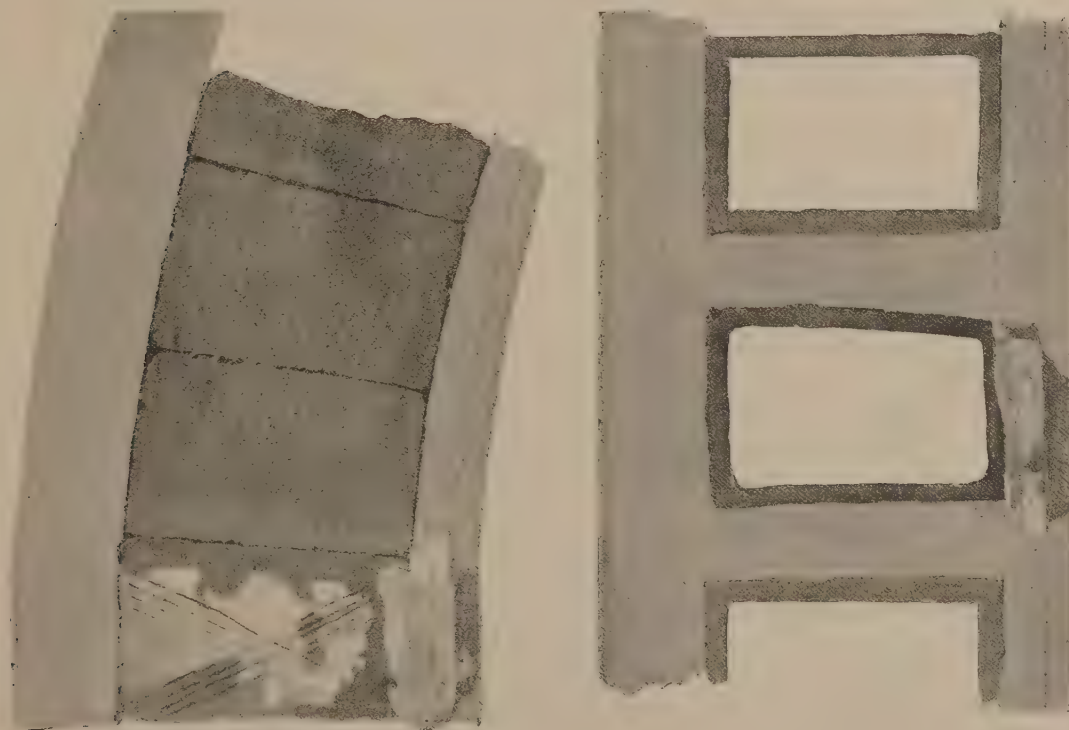
The walls of the chamber remain to a height of only a few feet. They have lost most of their plastering, but what still adhered to them showed no traces of colouring. At the foot, the usual quarter round moulding occurred, painted red. The floor had been of mosaic, but next to nothing remained. Next the walls was a band of no great width of tile *tesseræ*, well laid and rather smaller than usual, being rather under 1 inch square. Next it was a strip of black *tesseræ*, half an inch square, and then a few indications of a ground of white of the same sized cubes.

But the special point of interest about this chamber is that it affords the only example of vaulting found as yet in Silchester. The vaulting appears to have been formed of box voussoir tiles and plaster, the voussoir tiles being arranged in vertical bands, each tile fitting closely on the other with thick mortar joints binding the bands together. On the upper side a thick layer of mortar held the bands of tiles together, and on their under side a layer of plaster in two coats formed the ceiling.* (Fig. 5.)

* Such voussoir tiles as this vault is constructed with are not often found. Some, used up again as building material, were discovered in the walls of West Hampnett church, Sussex, at the time of



Fragment of upper coating of vault, of pink mortar, with casts of the scored ends of the voussoirs.



Section of vault.

Section through hollow voussoir tiles as placed.

Fig. 5. Details of vaulting of hollow voussoirs from Room 27, House No. 1, *Insula XXXIV*.
(From drawings by Mr. George E. Fox.) ($\frac{1}{8}$ linear.)

The vault thus constructed, covering the chamber, was of the kind called a barrel vault, and was 11 feet 6 inches in diameter. The mortar employed for the joints and for the covering bed of the box tiles was very red from the quantity of powdered brick mixed with it, and it also contained a considerable quantity of fragments of chalk. The upper surface of the covering bed had been smoothed so as to present a glazy surface. It is not likely, however, that it was exposed to the open air, being probably covered by a wooden roof in the same way as medieval vaulting. The tiles from this roof were not found, for the reason that they must have been carried away together with the *débris* of the walls in the clearance the site has received in the course of centuries, only crushed fragments of the disjointed vaulting which had fallen on the floor escaping to show the exceptional character of the covering of this chamber."

I would only add to Mr. Fox's description the fact that the barrel vault had its axis north and south, and that it probably sprang from the walls at no great height from the ground. The reason for the increased thickness of the east and west walls was obviously to enable them to withstand the thrust of the vault, while the equally thick south wall contained the doorway.

Mr. Fox goes on to inquire:

"What could have been the purpose of this chamber, carefully vaulted, with doorway of especial strength, and well laid mosaic floor? The natural inference," he argues, "is that it had been intended for the safe keeping of treasure or deeds of importance, or both. In 1865 Mr. Joyce, in uncovering the house now numbered No. 1, *Insula* XXIII., found in one of the rooms (No. 8) a sinking in the floor which had held a wooden chest, and it was surmised that something similar might lie in the same position here. Search was made, but no trace of such an arrangement was discoverable. Still, in spite of this want of success, it is still possible to believe that this vaulted chamber was the strong room of the mansion or group of buildings of which it forms part. Though not sunk in the floor, the chest or chests containing valuables might have been ranged against the

its restoration. They probably came from the ruins of a villa in the neighbourhood. Others were to be seen in 1887 in the baths of the villa at Chedworth, in Gloucestershire. The use to which these had been put in either case was probably to form an arch over the entrance to the recess containing the hot bath. In the construction of the vaulting of the hall, which may have been the *apodyterium* of the public baths at *Uriconium* (Wroxeter), in Shropshire, these tiles played a part. They also formed an important element in the construction of the vaulting over the great *caldarium* of the public baths of *Aquæ Solis* (Bath), which, judging by the massive fragment lying at the west end of the hall, must have been largely composed of such material.

walls and fastened to them or to the floor. Instances occur of such an arrangement in Pompeian houses (notably in the so-called house of the Quaestor). With this suggestion we must leave the question."

From this description of the house we may pass to the consideration of other curious features in and about it.

When the building was partially explored in 1873-4, the Rev. J. G. Joyce noted, concerning corridor A, that the "pavement appears to be laid over a hollow way for heat running along its length." He also records later, "a wooden planking found between wooden upright posts some inches lower than the floor of the corridor, and a little to the east of where it ceased." The latter statement seems to be the outcome of an investigation based upon the former, as our own examination revealed no signs of any heating passage. But the manner in which the middle portion of the pavement had subsided led to the opening up of the wooden arrangement described by Mr. Joyce. This curious feature will be best described and understood by beginning at its starting point. This seems actually to have been the singular tank (21), also lined with wood, which was uncovered in House No. 1, *Insula VI.*, in the preceding year. From the direction of this a wooden trough has now been traced crossing the intervening street obliquely, and extending into the courtyard of the house under notice. Beneath the street, where it was 6 inches wide, it was protected on both sides by parallel boarding 27 inches apart supported by vertical piles. After passing under the *insula* boundary wall, which it did at right angles to it, it resumed its oblique course, but with its width increased to 16 inches for about 21 feet. It then turned eastwards and proceeded in a straight line into the north-east corner of the courtyard, with a uniform width of 12 inches. Against the southern side of the oblique portion we found at the point shown on the plan a tub or butt 3 feet 3 inches deep, formed of two halves of a hollowed tree neatly fitted together vertically. The internal diameter was 30 inches, and the sides had been reduced to 2 inches in thickness. There was nothing to show how the two halves had been held together. The bottom of the butt was 18 inches below that of the trough and about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the courtyard level.

The continuation of the trough ended in the angle of the courtyard, but its office was there taken up by an extension of it northwards under the wall of corridor A with an increased width of 2 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. This extension continued nearly across the corridor and then returned at a right angle eastwards through the passage between rooms 7 and 9 to the outside of the building, where it ended abruptly. The width of this eastern extension was 2 feet 6 inches.

At the point where the trough entered the house it also altered its character, and became apparently an open tank 45 feet long with sides of flint masonry 2 feet high and 3 feet thick built upon piles. (Fig. 6.) This was lined in part with oak boarding and floored with similar boarding bedded in clay. The side boards were only 7 inches deep, and kept in place by vertical posts. The bottom boards were



Fig. 6. Wooden trough under part of the northern corridor of House No. 1, *Insula XXXIV*.
(From a photograph by Mr. R. Garraway Rice.)

14 inches wide, carefully notched to fit to the posts, and two at the western end were each $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet long. The woodwork of the eastern half of the tank was much decayed, probably owing to its exposure to the weather during the former excavation. In two places the tank seems to have been spanned by brick arches; in one, where it was crossed by the west wall of the eastern range of the house; in

the other, at its eastern end, where it was crossed by the wall of corridor E. For what purpose this tank was constructed is a puzzle. It is certainly contemporary with the building, but it is difficult to see whether and how it was covered over, or in what way it could have been used. If it were open, the passage through which it passed would have been reduced to a mere ledge 18 inches wide along its southern margin. Whatever its purpose it was well supplied with water from some source towards the west, and when we had cleared it out the water flowed freely along it. Its eastern end has been almost entirely destroyed, and there was nothing to show how the water was drained away from it.

At a later stage in the story of the house the tank was filled up with gravelly rubbish and floored over with coarse mosaic.

Besides the water-butt in the courtyard, mention should be made of a curious wooden tank which was found 14 feet to the south of it, and for a description of which I have to thank Mr. J. Challenor Smith.

It was 3 feet 5 inches square, and formed of a double series of oak boarding, arranged about four rows of vertical posts. The posts were disposed in threes and measured $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 inches. The interval between the inner and outer series of boards was the longer dimension of the posts. The tank was floored with four boards running east and west, and its bottom was 2 feet 6 inches below the courtyard, but owing to the decay of its upper parts the woodwork remained to a height of 18 inches only.

Besides the curious tank within the house, there was another outside of and coterminous with corridor D on the south.

The south wall of this corridor was supported by piles throughout its length, and parallel with it 7 feet distant was another row of smaller piles or posts supporting a continuous length of oak boarding. In the intervening space was excavated a shallow tank with similarly boarded sides, but not parallel, its width gradually increasing from $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet on the west to a little over 5 feet on the east. (Fig. 7.) The total length of the tank was 62 feet, but its western end was covered by a platform or bridge about 7 feet square, of stout oak planking. The level of this platform was 15 inches below that of the mosaic floor of the passage 17 and corridor D, and about the same above the clay bottom of the tank.

At midway along the tank a narrow drain which traversed the corridor D discharged into it; and a few feet to the west, at a lower level, there projected into the tank a hollowed trough constructed of the trunk of a tree. But no drain could be found behind the latter. Nearly opposite this trough was a kind of overflow outlet to the tank, but the actual opening for emptying the tank was at the

south-east corner, whence two parallel lines of boarding, upheld by piles, extended in a south-easterly direction for some 25 feet, beyond which no definite traces were left.

The use of this singular construction is very difficult to determine. That it was used for steeping purposes seems fairly evident, and the discovery, embedded

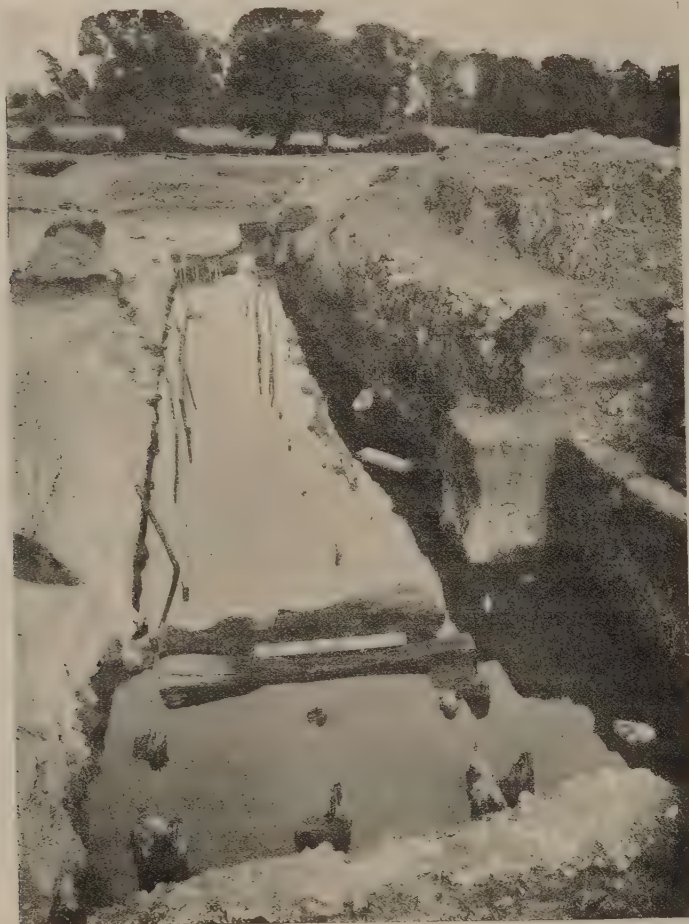


Fig. 7. Tank (filled with rain water) on south side of House No. 1, *Insula XXXIV*.
(From a photograph by Victor White and Co.)

in the soil covering the bridge or platform at the west end, of a number of horse and ox skulls without lower jaws,^a suggests that the hides of animals, with the

^a The extensive deposit of lower jaws without skulls found in 1905 under Block I. *Insula VI*. may not be unconnected with this discovery.

skulls still adhering, were brought hither to be steeped preparatory to being tanned. No trace, however, of tan or tan-pits could be found in the boggy ground to the south and south-east.

From the very wet condition of much of the southern or lower portion of the *insula* no pits were met with, and no finds of any importance beyond the usual collection of coins, pins, brooches, etc.

For the same reason little could be done in connexion with the search for plant-remains. Our colleague Mr. A. H. Lyell has nevertheless communicated the following note on some pieces of wood and other remains that were submitted to him :

“ The examination of the specimens of woods which were found in the basal construction of House No. 1 proves them to be for the most part of oak. This was the case with the five tree stumps, about two feet in diameter and standing upright, which were embedded under the wall separating rooms 18 and 19 from those to the south. The same wood, either in the form of boards or unsplit branches, was used in the construction of the horizontal sides of the tank as well as in the sides of the drain north of hypocaust room 9, and the piles to support their sides were for the most part of oak.

On the west side of the courtyard and at right angles to the drain which crossed it on the north side, but not apparently connected with it, lay a long straight piece of wood having a deep groove running its whole length. This wood proved to be alder. Its purpose was not clear, but it might have served as a water gully on the edge of the house roof whence it had fallen into the court below.

Although the seeds of plants found numbered 54 species, only two novelties can be noted, namely, *Brassica nigra* (Black mustard) and *Carduus crispus* (Thistle), both weeds of no particular interest.

Mr. Clement Reid has, however, lately been able to identify two seeds which were found in 1902 and 1905 respectively, and which deserve recording. One proves to be *Morus nigra* (Black mulberry), the other *Onopordum acanthium* (Cotton thistle), a rare plant of waste ground.

All the seeds came from the tank and the drain which crossed the courtyard of the house.

Mr. E. T. Newton has found nothing new among the small bones which were submitted to him for examination. They consist of fowl, dog, house mouse, common shrew. Fragments of coal were found in the tank.”

With these notes our report may fitly end. If circumstances are favourable

XIX.—*Excavations at Caerwent, Monmouthshire, on the Site of the Romano-British City of Venta Silurum, in the year 1906.* By T. ASHBY, Esq., D.Litt., F.S.A.

Read 30th May, 1907.

THE excavations of 1906 occupied a comparatively short period, from the middle of July until the end of September, and were carried on entirely upon land belonging to Viscount Tredegar, F.S.A., President of the Caerwent Excavation Fund Committee. The first portion of the time was spent in the exploration of a building to the north of the amphitheatre (Block KN) and of the mound within and parallel to the north city wall. In Block KN no discoveries of any special interest were made, and its plan may best be published when the examination of this portion of the mound is completed, which will probably be during the present summer.

The rest of the period mentioned was devoted to the uncovering of a large house (numbered House No. VII N). A small portion of it had already been excavated in 1903,^a but at that time the rest of it lay outside Lord Tredegar's property, and has only come into his possession subsequently. Signs of previous excavation and destruction in order to obtain building material were found in some parts of it, though no record exists of other discoveries on this spot, beyond the mention in Octavius Morgan's summary^b of "remains of tessellated pavement," a reference probably to Room 14 (see below).

Our own operations were to a certain extent restricted by the presence of fruit trees, which it did not seem necessary or worth while to remove.

^a *Archaeologia*, lix. 112, and pl. x.

^b *Archaeologia*, xxxvi. 425, and pl. xxxiii.

The house in its latest state is a large building, measuring some 146 feet by 72 feet, of a type not infrequent at Caerwent, with rooms surrounding a courtyard on all four sides. It has, however, been considerably altered and enlarged at different periods, and traces of earlier foundations are to be found in all parts of it except the south wing, which seems to have remained unchanged.

Four periods in its history can be distinguished, and are indicated by differences of tint, as far as it has been possible to make them out. (Plate XLII.) The remains of the first house are shown in solid black (walls not preserved above the footings are hatched), and those walls which belonged to the original building, but did not continue to exist in the later periods, are shown in outline. There are no doubt some uncertainties in the two earlier plans, which must be regarded to some extent as reconstructions; definite evidence for assigning a wall to the first rather than the second period, or *vice versa*, is not always forthcoming. The fourth period is responsible only for an alteration in the position of the main entrance.^a

The first house was a much smaller building, 85 feet by 71 feet, with the rooms arranged round a small courtyard, and apparently no corridors on the north and west. Its main entrance was from the street on the west by a doorway 11 feet in width, the threshold of which, formed of sandstone slabs, shows considerable signs of wear; in one of them the socket hole for a door may be noticed. On the east side of the courtyard there is a similar threshold. On the east side of the building there was apparently another narrower entrance from the yard.^b Opposite it is a square block of sandstone, probably a step, resting on mortar bedding. The floors of this earlier building so far as preserved are of gravel concrete, and there are traces of plaster on some of the walls, which do not call for special notice.

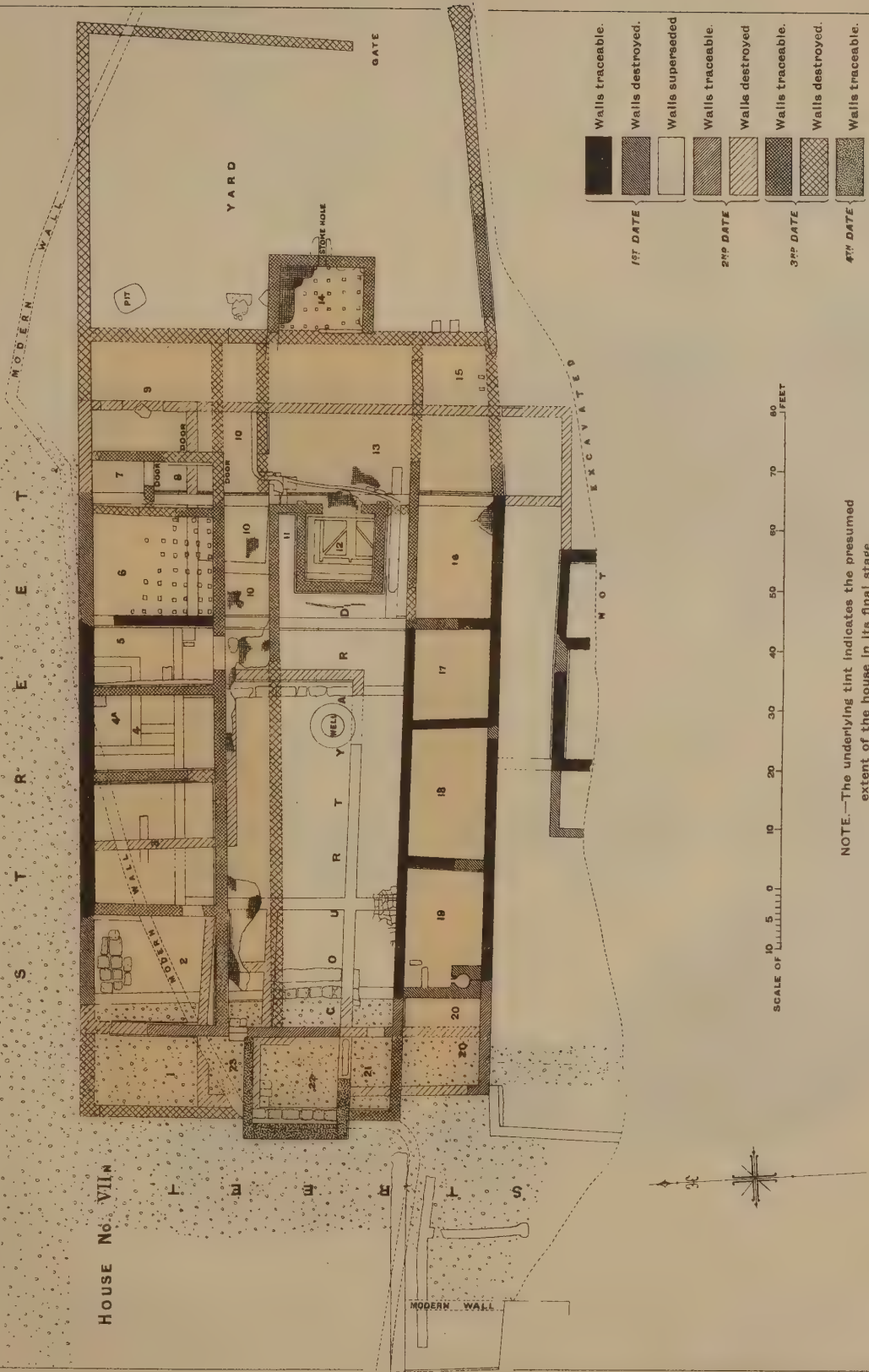
Under the north portion of Room 4 (in the later house) a small drain cut in the clay was found, 5 feet 10 inches below the modern surface level, going underneath the modern field wall, dating apparently from a period previous to the building of the house.

The first modifications which the house underwent included the construction of a corridor along the greater part of the north wing, thus lessening the area of the courtyard; the extension of the west wing westward, so as to encroach some-

^a The plan is the work of Mr. F. G. Newton, who is also responsible for the other plates. I am indebted to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope for help in working out the complicated changes which the house has undergone.

^b The east wall of this house has two footings.

HOUSE No. VII.



NOTE.—The underlying tint indicates the presumed extent of the house in its final stage.

F. G. NEWTON MENE ET DEL.

CAERWENT.—PLAN OF HOUSE No. VII.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1907.



Note.
 The pieces of plaster above the honeycomb
 pattern are vertically in position but
 horizontally they may come further apart.
 Nos 39, 40, 41, & 42 also have no fixed
 position.

F G NEWTON, DEL.

CAERWENT.—COLOURED WALL DECORATION FROM HOUSE NO. VII.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries, and in 1885.

what upon the street which led to the south gate, and its subdivision into several small rooms; and the construction of an additional room at the north-east angle, with a doorway on the east paved with old red sandstone slabs. This room was decorated with fine wall plaster, of which many fragments were recovered from under the concrete floor of the last period; among them was one with the figure of a hare in yellow on a dark green ground. (Plate XLIII.) Several of these fragments (though by no means all) show at the back unmistakable traces of having adhered to laths, some of them nearly two inches in width. This implies, it would seem, that the upper part of the walls was composed of wood-work, unless we suppose (what is less probable) that there was a wood backing to the plaster between it and the stonework. With these fragments of plaster was found a coin of Constans, which gives us a *terminus post quem* for the second reconstruction of the house.

Among the changes which took place in those rooms which had already existed in the earlier house we may perhaps reckon the formation of a large room in the middle of the north wing, though it is impossible to be certain to which of the first two periods the earlier foundations in Rooms 3 to 5 of the later house belong. The floor of large sandstone slabs in the north portion of Room 2 belongs to this intermediate period; below them was found charcoal, pottery, etc. and part of a large brooch which may be assigned to the second century A.D.

The room to the south of the small eastern entrance was converted into a channelled hypocaust,^a stoked from the east (fig. 1), while the south wing underwent apparently no changes at all, except for the slight extension over the street of the last room westward, already referred to in the description of the west wing.

The second reconstruction of the house, to which we owe the house in its third state, was a good deal more extensive than the first. The north wing was widened at the expense of the north corridor, and the courtyard thus made narrower; but this was compensated for by the reconstruction of the west wing, which further encroached on the street, and thus allowed of the lengthening of the courtyard.

The south corridor appears to have been entirely suppressed; the courtyard was, however, surrounded by an ambulatory paved with large *tesserae* of old red sandstone, the external limits of which are not very clear; on the south side a

^a The prolongation eastwards of its south wall, indicated in the plan, has nothing else to correspond with it, and what it represents is uncertain.

repair, of slabs of the same material, may be noted. No wall belonging to the third period can be traced on the north side (the pavement lies over the corridor walls of the earlier period), and we must either assume its existence (see plan) or suppose that the pent roof which must have covered this ambulatory was supported by wooden posts of which all traces have disappeared. There was also a considerable extension to the east, where a yard was formed.

The rooms may now be described individually, beginning from the north-west angle.



Fig. 1. Channelled hypocaust (of the second period) in Room 12, House VII N, from the east.

Room 1 is an extension over the street, belonging to the third period; its north wall has been quarried, and of its floor no traces were found.

Rooms 2, 3, 5 (the latter in the southern portion only) had gravel concrete floors at the upper level, about 2 feet below the modern surface, while that of Room 4 has entirely disappeared. The south wall of Room 2 is preserved to a height of 6 inches above the tessellated pavement of the ambulatory; in the

middle it is somewhat higher (about 1 foot), as is also the south wall of Rooms 3 and 4. Room 2 therefore probably opened directly into the ambulatory, Rooms 3 and 4 being reached through it. Room 5 again opened directly to the south, a block of sandstone being placed as a doorstep in the ambulatory. On the south wall of Room 3 there was dark green plaster with lighter splotches *in situ*.

In the north-east angle of Room 4 an impost block of sandstone was found, placed flat, 1 foot 9 inches below the modern surface; under it was a small bronze leg (of a box or chest?) in the form of a lion's claw, some glass, pottery, etc.

Room 6 was a large hypocaust stoked from Room 5; the concrete floor of the latter only extended over its southern portion.

The *pilæ* were of sandstone, 2 feet 3 inches in height, in ten rows from north to south and eight from east to west, most of those in the southern portion being still in existence. The floor which they supported was composed of fine gravel concrete $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness, and there was apparently no tessellated pavement (unless it had been carefully and entirely removed), for we discovered no *tesserae*. A considerable quantity of coloured plaster in very small fragments was found, and also a considerable number of flange tiles of the type found in House No. VIII N,^a but without scored backs; likewise a number of mussel, limpet, and razor shells. Fragments of box flue tiles were found in the adjoining corridor (10).

The northern portion of the east wall of the room has apparently, with a great part of the north wall of the house, been removed for building material; and this has certainly been the case in the two small rooms 7 and 8. The former seems to have been accessible only from the latter, which was a kind of lobby, with a door into Room 6, another entrance southward into the corridor 10, and probably a third eastwards into Room 9, the walls of which have been removed by quarrying,^b though the concrete floor, 4 inches higher than that of Room 7, is still preserved. From under these concrete floors came the plaster of the second period already referred to; and in the concrete itself small pieces of wood were embedded.

To the south of Room 5 the existence of the corridor (10) begins to be certain. The western extremity of its south wall is broken off, and the wall and line of threshold blocks to the west of it again, running north and south, belong to the second and first periods respectively. The exact arrangement here

^a See *Archæologia*, lix. 109, fig. 10.

^b The existence of the south wall is merely assumed; but the start of the east wall from the south, and, further north, the trench made for the previous excavation of its stones, were traced.

is therefore quite doubtful; but it may be understood if there was an ambulatory on the north side only of the courtyard.

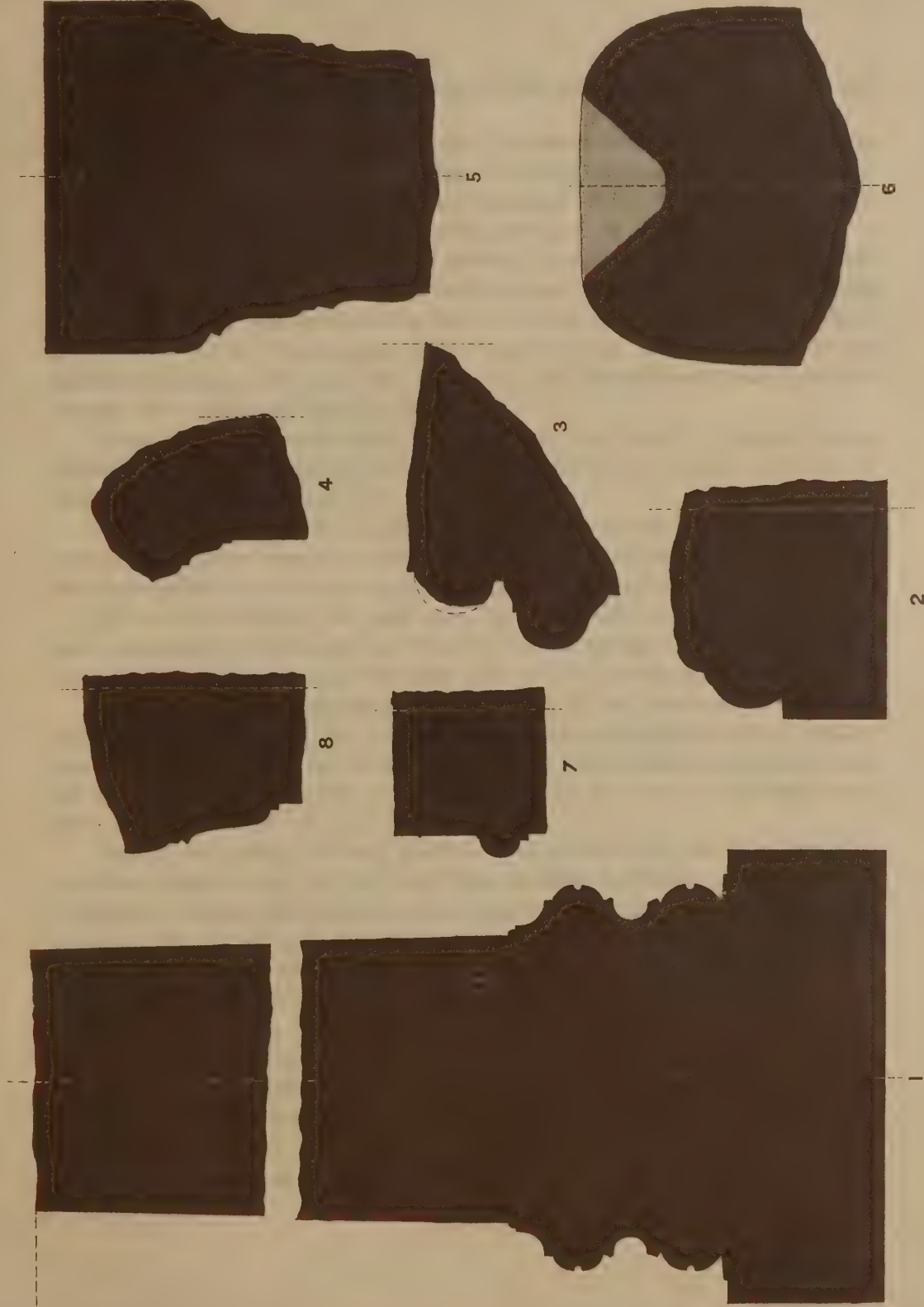
The corridor is 7 feet 4 inches wide, and paved with old red sandstone *tesseræ*; on the north wall is a plain white dado of plaster with yellow splashes, 1 foot 6 inches in height. In the corridor were found five fragments of small sandstone columns 6 to 8 inches in diameter, and near the threshold stone leading into Room 5 lay a larger fragment 2 feet 8 inches in length, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, with a base with double torus (Plate XLIV. fig. 1), and a fragment of a plain base (Plate XLIV. fig. 2) and part of another (Plate XLIV. fig. 3). A piece of a capital (Plate XLIV. fig. 4) may also have been found here. Two gravel concrete floors, belonging to the second and first periods respectively, were found running under the west portion of the south wall of the corridor.

At its east end are two steps descending to the (11) yard outside the house. The pitching of this yard was found in places about 1 foot below grass level. In its north-western angle, just outside Room 9, was a small pit, which had had a cover of old red sandstone slabs, at about 5 feet 3 inches below the surface, but this had slipped in. A piece of coal was found 7 feet 6 inches down, but nothing else of note, the earth being all dry and loose; and the natural bottom was reached at 10 feet down. In the yard was found part of a capital. (Plate XLIV. fig. 5.)

The wall bounding the yard on the east ends with a straight face at its south extremity; here there was probably an entrance. The eastern portion of the south wall is only preserved as a very rough irregular foundation, and it is possible that it may have extended still further eastward than the plan indicates. At the end of the excavated portion a fine silver coin of Galba was found about 2 feet below grass level.

To the south of the corridor (10) there was a narrow space; it was traversed by a drain from the courtyard, which passes through its east wall by an aperture 9 inches wide by 1 foot high. Shortly after this it received a branch from the south, measuring 7 inches wide by 8 deep, and roofed with fragments of old red sandstone slabs, which ran under the tessellated pavement of Room 13, and then turned north into the corridor (10). It then went east again, falling somewhat sharply; but, owing to the quarrying for building material which has taken place here, its prolongation could not be traced. It measured $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth, and from 3 to 10 inches in width.

The hypocaust in Room 12 was suppressed and its channels and stokehole filled up; and Rooms 12 and 13 (the latter apparently all one room), with the threshold between them, were both paved with old red sandstone *tesseræ*, but in the



Scale = $\frac{1}{4}$ linear.

F. G. NEWTON, DEL.

C. F. WELLS & SON, PHOTO LITHO.

CAERWENT.—ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS FOUND IN 1906.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1907.

eastern portion of 13 the concrete bedding is alone preserved. The drain under the pavement of the latter is probably contemporary, inasmuch as it would have interfered with the stoking of the hypocaust under Room 12, had it been in existence in the second period, to which the hypocaust belonged.

In Room 13, on the north of the doorway from Room 12, a large slab of old red sandstone, 3 feet 8 inches by 2 feet 9½ inches by 3 inches thick, was found lying in a slightly slanting position with its upper edge 1 foot 5 inches below grass level. To the north again was a small furnace below the level of the tessellated pavement but above the drain. In the doorway itself was found the rounded stone shown on Plate XLIV. fig. 6.

Room 12 was accessible only from the east; but Room 13, besides having probably an entrance from the corridor (10),^a could also be reached by a narrow passage on the south of Room 12.

Room 13 led again into another room with a hypocaust (No. 14), having stone *pilæ*, in seven rows from north to south and five from east to west. The *pila* in the extreme south-west angle is a fragment of a capital.

The stokehole was on the east side, the hypocaust being stoked from the yard; the aperture had brick sides where it passed through the wall of the room, but stone sides elsewhere, and the upper part of it was cantilevered.

The pavement was tessellated; the border of old red sandstone *tesserae* was preserved in places, but in the middle, which had a geometrical design of smaller *tesserae*, white, black, and red, hardly anything was left. Some of the plaster from the walls was fine Pompeian red with a yellowish line, and on the north wall there was a pink dado.

In each wall except the west, which is much ruined, were two flues formed of box-tiles, scored as usual on their outer faces to make the plaster adhere, and with rectangular holes in their sides, the mortar protruding through these keeping them in place. The hot air had access to them through an irregular hole broken in the bottom tile of each flue. (Fig. 2.) This somewhat primitive arrangement furnishes an explanation of what was found in a house excavated at Silchester in 1906, in which, in a hypocaust partly constructed and never actually used, the flues had no openings into them at all.

Under the floor, which is best preserved in the north-east angle, a curious collection of objects was found: a fragment of a small column with necking

^a Possibly at the west end of the north side, though there is no respond on the east to the small projection on the west.

(Plate XLIV. fig. 7), a large iron hoop for the hinge post of a wooden door, a perfect tinned spoon, two cows' skulls, some mussel and limpet shells, two cocks' spurs, pottery, and two coins of Valens. In the north-east angle part of a capital was found (Plate XLIV. fig. 8).

On the south side of Room 15 two stone *pilæ* of a hypocaust were found *in situ*, and are shown on the plan; another block of sandstone, perhaps a *pila*, but only 18 inches high, was found lying outside the room. On the east side of the



Fig. 2. Base of a flue in Room 14, House No. VII N.

same room two brick piers, 1 foot 6 inches apart, were found; that on the south was faced with sandstone on its south side. They were probably the sides of the stokehole of the destroyed hypocaust, but the wall on each side of them had been broken away, no doubt by searchers for building material, to whom we must attribute the almost complete destruction of the hypocaust.

Turning now to the south wing, we find that at the south-east corner there has again been a good deal of destruction, so that the eastern portion of Room 16

and the whole of Room 15 lack the east and parts of their south walls. The two rooms here of the earlier house had been thrown into one long one, which was paved with old red sandstone *tesserae*.

To the west of this the south wing seems to have remained without modification. The lack of floors at the later (upper) level renders it often difficult to see how the rooms were entered. Room 17 was accessible apparently from the east; it had a concrete floor three feet below the modern surface level, and the walls a dado of dull pink plaster.

In the north-east angle of the room, in a hole sunk through the concrete floor, a large grey urn, with an external height of 15 inches, and a maximum

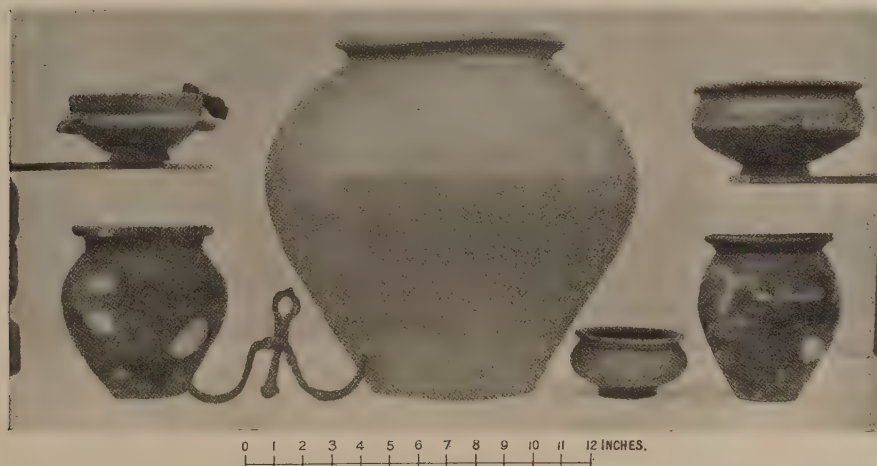


Fig. 3. Urn and contents found in House No. VII N.

diameter of $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches, was discovered. It was covered by an inverted *mortarium*, which seems to have been cemented on, as the rim shows traces of cement all round; it was unluckily broken by the pick. The urn contained the fragments of two pewter vessels, three red bowls probably belonging to the third century A.D., to one of which, with white painted decorations, adhered part of an iron knife blade, and two rough black pear-shaped pots with strong traces of burning, which lay in the lower part of the urn. (Fig. 3.) At the bottom of the urn was some earth, in which were some iron objects, including a knife blade and a double hook for a lamp (?), and fragments of the pewter vessels.

Mr. Gowland reports that the vessels consist of lead carbonate and tin oxide,

resulting from the weathering and oxidation of the pewter. On analysis the following results were obtained :

Lead carbonate	17·67 per cent.
Tin oxide	67·80 „
Earthy matter	14·53 „
	<u>100·00</u>

The relative proportions of tin and lead present are as 80 to 20, which is the composition of standard pewter. The proportions of these metals, however, in the original alloy may have been somewhat different, as a portion of the lead may have been removed in solution during the weathering. A few pieces of iron rust are mixed with the other fragments.

Some woven fabric from the larger of the two pear-shaped pots found in the large grey vase, above described, is interesting. The larger pieces have been placed between pieces of glass, and are preserved in the local museum. Only one small piece of fabric had previously been found at Caerwent, in House No. 1 N. Both appear to be woollen, and of a red or brown colour.

From the earth found within the large grey urn Mr. Newton, who kindly examined it, reports remains of

Mole.	<i>Cochlicopa lubrica.</i>
Mouse bones.	<i>Limnæa peregra.</i>
Fish vertebra.	<i>Achatina acicula.</i>
<i>Helix rotundata.</i>	<i>Pupa muscorum.</i>
<i>Zonites</i> sp.	

There may have been some slight admixture of earth from above, owing to the fact that the *mortarium* which covered it was broken. *Helix rotundata* and *Cochlicopa lubrica* were also found in a smaller sample, which was adhering to the bottom of the urn.

In Room 18 there was no floor that could be definitely traced; a layer on the east, 2 feet 5 inches below the grass level, and about 5 inches thick, may have been a disintegrated concrete floor. Under this layer, about 5 feet below the grass level, were found some third-century coins and a worn second brass of Marcus Aurelius. The successive reconstructions of the cross wall between Rooms 19 and 20 are a little difficult to follow; it is possible that in the later state of the house the rooms were not divided. Upon it in later times a furnace

was erected, facing to the south, with a stokehole, the side walls of which were only one stone thick, sunk below floor level.

Room 20 came into existence in the second period, and appears to have become in the fourth period the main entrance to the house from the street. It had a concrete floor 2 feet 1 inch below the modern surface level, and its threshold was some 7 inches higher; the pitching of the street led up to it and showed signs of having been raised a few inches.

The wall to the south of it, which comes forward of the line of the front, is apparently a yard wall; it encroaches considerably on the line of the street, while the two walls which cross the street east and west and that running at right angles to the southernmost of them,^a must belong to the period after the abandonment of the street and the beginning of the amphitheatre. The wall running north and south to the west of them, on the other hand, belongs to the Basilica of the town, which was under excavation during the summer of 1907, and of which a description will be given subsequently.

To the south of the south wing are three cross walls, all belonging apparently to the first or second period, joining this house to another to the south, which has not as yet been completely excavated.

The history of the west wing is somewhat difficult to follow. We have already seen that the two main reconstructions of the house mark two successive encroachments on the line of the road. The first reconstruction, giving us the house in its second state, must originally, one may suppose, have taken the west wall of Room 20 as its front line; and we find a prolongation of this in Room 21, and a wall in line with it in Room 23; in the intervening room, however (No. 22), there is no trace of a wall in this line.

Slightly to the west of it, however, is a threshold, 10 feet in width, formed of slabs of sandstone, and occupying the same relative position as that of the earliest period, which must have been the main entrance to the house in the third period. The west wall of Rooms 21 and 23 was at the same time moved slightly forward so as to come up to the line of this threshold. In the fourth period this entrance was blocked by a wall, and the main entrance to the house was then transferred to Room 20. The opening in its west wall is not regularly formed, and looks as if it may well have been broken through subsequently.

Room 22 was floored with old red sandstone slabs $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. It had a pavement of slabs of old red sandstone, which lies over the earlier east and west

^a At the end of this is a large sandstone block, perhaps one pier of a gateway.

wall on its north side. The eastern part of its south wall seems to cover a channel lined with concrete, the purpose of which is quite uncertain. Along this wall a small piece of mortar showing wattling was found, no doubt from the upper part of the walls. The small doorway in Room 23 continued to exist, with a descent of 6 inches into the ambulatory. The road bed found under all these rooms was about 17 inches thick, made up of gravel and sandy stuff.

In the courtyard of the house, near the south-east angle, was a well, which seems to have belonged to the third period of the building, as it broke through the line of the earlier courtyard wall.

The stonework began at about 2 feet below the grass level, the internal diameter varying from 3 feet 1 inch to 3 feet 5 inches, and from that point to 7 feet below it was filled with loose, powdery earth, with some Roman glass and pottery in it. At this depth a large sandstone slab, 3 feet 1 inch by 1 foot 11 inches, and about 6 inches thick, was wedged across the well, and below it the well was clear to the water, which was found at 15 feet. The lining of stones continued for another 2 feet, and was roughly circular. Then, at 17 feet, four flat stones, about 2 inches thick, were placed so as to form roughly a rectangle, the sides of which measured (1) 2 feet 10 inches, (2) 2 feet 7 inches, (3) 3 feet (opposite to (1)), (4) 2 feet 8 inches (opposite to (2)). Below this there was no lining, the sides being of soft clay and pebbles. The lower part of the well, from about 16 feet, was filled chiefly with stones, especially sandstone slabs, some of which were roofing slabs; one or two fragments of tile and pieces of mortar also occurred. From 19 feet to 20 feet several fragments of iron bucket handles and many pieces of wood from buckets were found; and at 20 feet another sandstone slab, 2 feet by 1 foot 11 inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, was found, lying flat. The bottom was reached at 21 feet 9 inches. In the last foot were found a pewter jug, 8 inches in height, broken, similar to one found at Brislington,^a and a round pewter disk, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches across, forming the central portion of a platter. The decoration of the disk resembles that of some dishes found at Appleshaw,^b which appear to belong to the Christian period, but the central ornament of the Caerwent specimen is a circle containing a wheel-shaped object within a square. (See fig. 4.)

Two or three fragments of pottery, some more wood and metal from the buckets, and a cow's rib were found. The relative scarcity of animals' bones is in contrast to the state of things in other wells excavated at Caerwent.

^a *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, v. pl. xviii. fig. b.

^b *Archæologia*, lvi. 7-12, especially fig. 3.

Samples of mud were taken between 19 feet 6 inches and 21 feet 6 inches below grass level, and sent to Mr. Arthur H. Lyell, who was kind enough to examine them. A few plant remains were found, but all, with the exception of the sorrel (*Rumex acetosa*), belonged to species already recorded from Caerwent.

Mr. Clement Reid, who was kind enough to identify the seeds found in 1906, reported that the only other novelty was the raspberry (*Rubus idæus*), found



Fig. 4. Pewter vessels found at Caerwent, in House No. VII N.

in a pit to the south of the mound at a depth of 19 feet 3 inches below the grass level.

The small bones and shells identified by Mr. E. T. Newton in the samples from the well were as follows:

Bank vole (*Evotomys glareolus*).

Water shrew (*Crossopus fodiens*).

Field vole (*Microtus agrestis*).

Frog (*Rana temporaria*?).

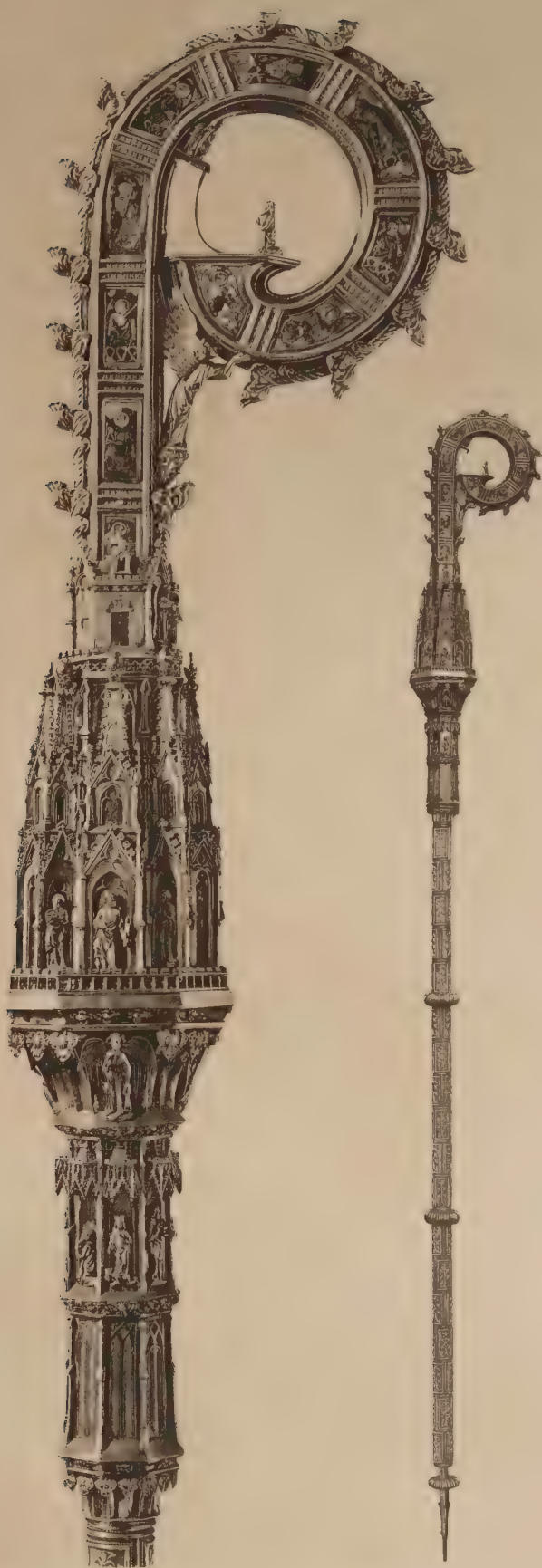
Water vole (*Microtus amphibius*).
 Small vole (*Microtus* sp.)
 Toad (*Bufo vulgaris*).
 Mole (*Talpa Europæa*).
 Shrew (*Sorex vulgaris*?)

Helix arbustorum.
Helix rotundata.
Zonites sp.
Cochlicopa lubrica.
Limax agrestis.

The block plan (fig. 5) shows the discoveries down to September, 1906.



Fig. 5. Plan of Caerwent, showing discoveries down to September, 1906.



SILVER-GILT CROSIER OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER (1367-1404)
 [THE HEAD $\frac{1}{2}$ LINEAR THE FULL LENGTH VIEW ABOUT $\frac{1}{4}$ LINEAR]

XX.—*The Episcopal Ornaments of William of Wykeham and William of Waynfleet, sometime Bishops of Winchester, and of certain Bishops of St. Davids.*
By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A.

Read 13th June, 1907.

IN July of last year, on the kind invitation of Mr. J. B. Carrington, I was able, through the courtesy of the authorities of New College, Oxford, to examine at leisure the splendid crosier of their Founder, Bishop William of Wykeham, which Mr. Carrington had offered to cleanse from an accumulation of dust and dirt. One of the things at once apparent on examining the staff was its somewhat rickety condition, and in view of the fact that any mishap might be productive of deplorable injury, at the request of the College I drew up a report on the crosier and the steps that should be taken to make its several parts secure. As a consequence of this report the staff has been entrusted, on my recommendation, to Mr. C. Krall, who has carried out with his usual skill only such repairs as were absolutely necessary; it being the special instruction of the College that nothing further should be attempted. The wisdom of this course can not be too highly commended.

As it was not possible for Mr. Krall to repair the crosier elsewhere than in his own workshop, the College has allowed it to be brought up to London, and before it returns to Oxford to be exhibited to the Society, and that is how and why it is here this evening.

Together with the crosier it seemed desirable to exhibit whatever other relics of the Founder are preserved in the College, and by the courtesy of the Warden we are able to see the fragments of the bishop's precious mitre; part of its cap; and two leather mitre cases; two rings believed to have been the bishop's; his gloves; and a lovely jewel of the finest possible workmanship.

With Bishop William of Wykeham's crosier it was hoped that there might be

exhibited that of Bishop Richard Fox, but the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College were not willing to allow their Founder's staff to come up to London.

Yet a third College in Oxford, that of St. Mary Magdalen, is fortunate in possessing some episcopal ornaments which are believed to have belonged to its Founder, Bishop William of Waynfleet, and these, consisting of a pair of buskins and sandals, the President and Fellows have most kindly sent for exhibition.

The Dean and Chapter of St. Davids have also contributed two gilt-latten crosier heads and part of a third of unusually early character, and the curious framework of another crosier head; as well as two silver chalices, and two good examples of episcopal rings.

The history of the ornaments belonging to New College is summed up in a brief sentence of the Founder's will, which was drawn up by him on the 24th July, 1403, fifteen months before his death on 27th September, 1404:

Item lego Collegio meo Oxonie mitram meam et baculum meum pastoralem. ac dalmaticas et sandalia mea.*

He also bequeathed to his college at Winchester his other plain mitre with orphreys (*aliam mitram meam planam aurifrigiatam*). To his successor in the bishopric of Winchester he left his best pontifical and massbook; his best gold pontifical ring with a sapphire encircled by four "baleys," two little diamonds, and eleven pearls; his best gilt chalice, enamelled in the foot with images of the Passion; and his best "ponser" (or thumbstall) worked and wrought with nine balasses and 141 pearls. To his cathedral church of Winchester the bishop left his new vestment of blue cloth wrought with gold lions, with thirty copes of the same suit orphreyed with the story of Jesse; also a pyx of beryl, and a gold cross with relics of the true Cross. His other numerous bequests do not call for any special notice, and the disposal of the rest of his goods was left to the executors.

Bishop William of Wykeham's New College at Oxford no longer possesses his dalmatics and sandals, but his crosier, the fragments of his mitre, and other ornaments believed to have been his, are still among the most cherished relics of his foundation.

The crosier has been figured many times, notably by John Carter in his *Ancient Sculpture and Painting*, where a full-sized representation of the head is given. In spite, however, of the extraordinary interest and surpassing artistic

* Reg. Arundel, part i. f. 215 b.

merit of the staff, it is curious that, so far as I can learn, it has never been fully described in detail.

The crosier has a total length of 6 feet 9 inches, and consists of two parts, the shaft and the crook. (Plate XLV.) The shaft measures 51 inches in all, and is composed of three lengths of piping with intermediate bosses, surmounted by an elaborate capital from which rises the crook, and ending with the usual spike at the lower end. (Plate XLVI.) The pipes have a uniform diameter of $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch throughout, and are joined by screws, which are alternately right- and left-handed. The uppermost pipe is $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches, the middlemost $14\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and the lowest $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The bosses or knots are $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and 1 inch deep, and are divided, the upper into twelve, and the lower into thirteen lobes. The pipes are formed of series of panels, in bands of threes, arranged in half section one above the other. Owing to their unequal lengths the uppermost pipe has five bands, the next six, and the lowest seven. The panels are 2 inches high and 1 inch wide, and formed of silver plates, each of which contains, stamped in relief, a group of five lily flowers growing on one stalk. The grounds are enamelled either green or blue, and are so arranged that each band contains alternately one blue and two green panels, or one green and two blue. As the panels had to be fired, they are inserted separately into oblong holes cut for them in the piping. These holes are bordered by delicate beading which, like the interspaces, is gilded. The effect is consequently that of a series of silver lilies on blue or green grounds, set in gold frames. The lowest pipe ends, not in a knot, but in a length of six-sided piping with a narrow lobed ring round the middle, beyond which is a silver spike with an iron core. Of the latter $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch is exposed and forms the point of the staff.

The capital of the shaft is 11 inches in height and consists of four distinct members, all of which are gilt. The lowest is a sub-capital with a circular bell surrounded by a series of upright leaves, and an octagonal abacus with a rose in each side of its hollow member. From the capital rises an octagonal shaft, buttressed at the angles, and with a two-light traceried compartment on each side. This is surmounted by a cornice with beautifully wrought leafwork, upon which stands another length of shafting, likewise buttressed at the angles; but the sides are treated as niches, richly canopied, and with backgrounds enamelled alternately blue and green. The niches contain a charming series of delicately modelled images, each about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch high. That in the front niche is a standing figure of Our Lord, crowned, and holding the orb in his left hand, and blessing with the right. Engraved on the back of the niche behind his head is a cruciform and irradiated nimbus. The

niches on either hand of Our Lord contain each a kneeling figure: that on the right is a lady in a long gown and with a veil upon her head; that on the left a man, bearded and bareheaded, and enwrapped in a loose robe. Both figures have a nimbus engraved on the back of the niche; they therefore probably represent Our Lady and St. John Baptist. Next to St. John is an image of St. Katharine, crowned, and trampling on the tyrant Maximian; the sword and wheel which she usually holds are lost. Next to the kneeling figure of Our Lady is St. Peter holding a book, but his key is partly broken away. On the opposite side to Our Lord is an image of Our Lady and Child; she originally was crowned, and also held an open book, a distinctly unusual feature. The niche on her right has an image of St. John Evangelist with the cup and devil; and that on her left St. James the Greater, holding up a big scallop shell in his right hand.

Above the canopied niches is the main capital of the shaft. It rises from a cornice of leafwork surmounting the canopies and has round the incurved bell four sitting figures of angels, alternating with as many groups of three upright leaves, some of which are broken away. Below each group was another pair of leaves, now gone. The angels* have their wings outspread, and their hands upon their knees as if to help to support the weight of the work above them. This has a hollow studded with leaves, and is surmounted by an embattled parapet, pierced on all sides with quatrefoil openings. Owing to a necessary change in the section of the crosier, the platform enclosed by this parapet is an elongated, instead of a regular, octagon, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by 4 inches in width.

From this platform rises the crook. Its lower half is masked by an elaborate base of the most decorative character and extraordinary delicacy of workmanship. This base consists in the main of a series of richly canopied niches, the backgrounds of which are filled alternately with green and blue translucent enamel. The plan is somewhat peculiar, being formed of four oblong members arranged in cross, with four other two-sided members fitted into the angles. These latter have on both sides niches containing images, but the oblong members have niches with figures on their front faces only.

The figures are twelve in number. The front figure is that of Our Lord, and the opposite figure at the back that of Our Lady, in each case duplicates of those below; but the Blessed Virgin here has her crown, in token of her royal descent, and the open book. The other principal figures are St. Peter, also a duplicate, but retaining his key, and St. Paul with his sword and book.

The faces of the angels are not gilt, but they have golden hair.



GOLD JEWEL AND SILVER-GILT CROSIER OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER
 (THE JEWEL FULL SIZE; THE CROSIER HEAD AND SPIKE $\frac{1}{2}$ LINEAR)

The figures flanking Our Lord are St. Bartholomew on the right, with knife and book, and a bearded Apostle (probably "James the Lord's brother") on the left, whose emblem is lost. It was something slender that was held in the right hand, perhaps the fuller's bat wherewith St. James was done to death at his martyrdom.

Our Lady has on her right St. Andrew with his cross saltire, and on her left St. Matthew holding up an axe.

St. Peter is flanked by two identical figures of St. John Baptist,^a holding a disc charged with the Holy Lamb; and St. Paul has on his right St. Simon, with saw and book, and on his left St. John Evangelist with cup and devil, also a duplicate of the figure below.

The upper part of each niche is a smaller version of the lower, having a similarly enamelled ground, but no figure, and surmounted by a tall crocketed pinnacle capped with a finial of blue enamel.

The duplication of several of the images is a little difficult of explanation, as is the possible scheme of their arrangement.

Mr. Krall suggests that the duplication is due to the replacing of lost figures by casting from some of those that were left. This will possibly account for the second of the standing figures of St. John Baptist, but after comparing the other figures I find a difficulty in accepting the suggestion generally.

The scheme of arrangement is somewhat of a puzzle. Our Lord in Majesty with Our Lady and St. John Baptist form an interesting group, and the presence of Our Lady and Child is easy to explain, as is that of the patron saints, Peter and Paul, of the cathedral church of Winchester. The rest may have been intended to give complete the series of the Apostles, but in that case only eight of the twelve are forthcoming.

Whether by accident or design the upper set of figures is not nimbed in any way.

From the middle of the pinnacled niches there rises, to a height of $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches from the base, an eight-sided tower. It has on the two broad sides an imitation window of three lights with a quatrefoil in the head, and on each of the ends a two-light window, also with a small quatrefoil above. All these have grounds of translucent blue enamel. The four canted sides have a single cusped light only, with a ground of green enamel. Round the top is an embattled parapet, cresting a band of pierced quatrefoils.

^a That on his left has evidently been cast from the other, and may be a comparatively modern "restoration" to fill a vacant niche.

On the top of the tower is set a little six-sided house. Owing to its position it is more elongated in plan than the tower, and has the longer sides lined to represent masonry and surmounted by corbel tables and embattled parapets. In each of these sides is a square-headed doorway, and over it on the roof a little dormer window. The ends of the building are each formed of two of the lesser sides meeting at an angle, which is masked by a round pinnacled turret. The other angles were also masked by buttresses, of which only two are left. Each of the divisions forming the end runs up into a cusped and crocked gable. The roof is a plain one of high pitch which ignores the oblique gables. Beneath and in front of each gable was originally a silver image of an angel with outspread wings, playing on an instrument of music, but only one now remains. Some group or ornament, now missing, was fixed in front of each of the doorways.

Out of the roof of the house rises the crook proper to a height of about 11 inches. The sides of it are flat, but the edges are ridged and ornamented with four rows of a wheeled pattern of small four-leaved flowers. Between these rows is a plain rib which is masked round the outside of the curve by leafwork crockets, which are of cast work.^a The incurved end of the crook is supported by a beautifully modelled angel who stands upon a corbel in form of a bearded man's head. The curve of the crook ends in an elongated six-sided platform $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches long and 1 inch wide. This was till lately a mere plate of thin copper, and as it had to be removed during the repair of the staff, Mr. Krall has replaced it by one of silver-gilt. Upon it has been refixed a small kneeling figure which has for a long time occupied this position, and a small group on a bracket supported by a curved copper strip. The kneeling figure is that of a bearded man with long wavy hair and apparently bare arms, enwrapped in a long loose robe or mantle. This has hitherto been described as Bishop William of Wykeham, but a comparison of it with the duplicate figure on the capital of the staff proves beyond doubt that it is meant for St. John the Baptist. The group on the bracket does not appear in any of the older representations of the crosier, notably that of John Carter of 1785, but it is shown in a small engraving of the staff, made by G. Hollis in 1815, and published in 1823.^b Its copper support suggests its having been fixed in place in modern times, but there is no record at New College of this having been done, nor is it easy to see whence the group was derived. A recently published work describes it as consisting of "the figure of Our Lord, and an

^a One of the crockets is missing.

^b By Joseph Skelton, in his *Oronia Antiqua Restaurata*.

attendant kneeling angel." But the latter holds part of a scroll on which may still be seen the words *abe : ma . . .* and the standing figure is of course Our Lady herself, with unbound hair, holding up her hands in amazement at the archangel's message.

This Annunciation group is so obviously out of place in its present position as to raise the question, whether it has not been moved hither from another part of the staff. As a matter of fact, it would stand very well on one side of the little building lower down, where there are corresponding marks for its attachment. All the several representations of the crosier depict one and the same side, but the little group was probably fixed on the other, and so has escaped notice. It was no doubt removed owing to the corresponding group on the opposite side of the building having been lost. The kneeling figure of St. John Baptist was probably within the crook from the first, and placed in front of such a subject as a seated figure of Our Lady and the infant Saviour, for which there is ample room; and there are the marks on the crook of a subject on the same scale as the supporting angel below having been fixed above it upon the platform.

The flat sides of the crook are $\frac{7}{8}$ inch thick and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch wide, but the crockets and mouldings increase the width to $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. They are bordered by simple beads, and divided by double bands set with small four-leaved flowers into ten compartments on each side. Each compartment has let into it a silver plate bearing an engraved figure of an angel playing upon an instrument of music, and sitting or standing on a cloud, the whole being covered with translucent enamel. The clouds are purple, and float in a lovely blue sky, and the angels' wings are barred of two colours.

On one side the instruments carried are (ascending from the bottom) cymbals, triangle, bagpipes, portative organ, penny whistle, zither, trumpet, pipe, cittern, and pipe. On the other side the lowest angel is a six-winged seraph; the rest are playing respectively on the drum, fiddle, flute, jew's harp, fiddle, harp, cymbals, pipe, and trumpet.

Although there can not be any doubt as to the identity of the crosier now at New College with that bequeathed by the Founder, it is open to question whether it was actually made for him.

William of Wykeham was elected Bishop of Winchester in October, 1366, but the papal assent to his election was not given until July, 1367, and he was consecrated the following October.

Now the architectural details of the crosier seem to belong to an earlier date

than 1367, and there is a possibility of the staff having originally been made for Wykeham's predecessor. This was Dan William of Edington, who was elected and consecrated in 1346 and died in October, 1366. His will, dated 11th September of that year, contains the bequest:

Item lego domino Willelmo de Wykeham clerico privati sigilli domini Regis unum anulum aureum cum uno rubie et unum jocale ad valorem xx^{li}.^a

but there is no mention of his pontifical ornaments. He leaves, however, the residue of his unbequeathed estate

ad perfeccionem operis navis ecclesie Sancti Swithuni Wynton per me inchoati si indigeat,^b and it is possible that his crosier, etc. may have been bought by his successor, one of whose first official acts was to continue the building works that Edington had begun.

The suggestion that the staff was made for William of Edington does not, however, apply to the actual crook. The ornamental details of this are quite different from those of the work below it, and certain peculiarities in the enamelled parts point to an origin in common with some of the ornaments of the precious mitre to be described presently.

One further point about the staff may be mentioned, and that is the startling resemblance, both in plan and design, of the rich tabernacle work at the base of the crook to the work on the well-known Waltham Cross.

This is one of the series of memorial crosses set up by her executors at each of the places where the dead body of Queen Eleanor, the consort of King Edward I., rested on its way from Harby to Westminster in 1290, and it was in building from about the middle of 1291 to some time in 1293. It need not of course be claimed that the crosier is so early, but as another of the Eleanor crosses was that of Cheap in the city of London, Mr. W. R. Lethaby has suggested to me, as an explanation of the resemblance just noted, that the crosier was the work of a goldsmith in Cheap, who borrowed the design from the cross in front of his shop. Unfortunately the Cheap Cross has long perished, and we know not how closely it resembled that at Waltham.^c

The mitre bequeathed to New College by the Founder has long since fallen to pieces from age, and is now represented by the remains of its ornamental parts. These have been preserved in a cabinet in the Warden's lodgings, but without any regard to their original arrangement.

^a Reg. Langham, f. 110 a.

^b *Ibid.* f. 111 a.

^c Fragments of it now preserved in the Guildhall Museum show that the two had many points in common.

In the hope that a careful study and comparison of the fragments might enable the mitre to be to some extent reconstructed, I offered to undertake the task if I might have them in my charge for the purpose, and to this suggestion the Warden and Fellows have most kindly agreed.

The remains of the mitre which were handed over to me comprised the four silver-gilt crocketed borders, three large gilt flowers with jewelled eyes, a considerable number of real and counterfeit stones in silver-gilt collets, a number of small silver-gilt stellar ornaments, several series of enamelled and jewelled tablets hinged together in bands, a fleur-de-lis set with stones, and an apparently hopeless mass of tangled and crumpled gold tissue intermixed with strings of seed pearls, amongst which were several more jewels.

There were also three uncut emeralds mounted in gold,^a sundry pearls on gold stalks, and several odd jewels, as well as some book-clasp hinges and fragments that cannot have belonged to the mitre.

The crocketed borders presented no difficulty, and when pinned together at the top as originally, they at once gave the angle of the upper half of the mitre, as well as its approximate width.

The next point to determine was the position and arrangement of the hinged bands. The design of the enamelled divisions, all of which contain figure subjects, suggest that some were placed horizontally and some vertically, but nothing satisfactory on this point could be made out from the existing series.

From a number of loose jewels nothing of course could safely be deduced, though they afforded room for much speculation, and it was with a somewhat hopeless feeling that I at length turned to the ravelled heap of gold tissue and seed pearls.

The detection among this of what seemed to be a set of tassels suggested at first sight that the mass was largely made up of the fragments of the pendent labels of the mitre, but the tassel when unravelled did not bear this out, and I afterwards discovered that it belonged to one of the red silk gloves preserved with the mitre.

The next proceeding was to straighten out the rest of the mass. This yielded the remains of several distinct pieces of stuff, and it was with great satisfaction that I found on smoothing out and pinning down the largest that it was actually part of one side of the mitre itself. The next piece was an equally lucky find, since it proved to be part of the groundwork of the other side. The rest apparently also formed part of this same side.

^a Two of these are shown in the upper part of Plate XLVII.

The discovery of these fragments settles definitely the design and arrangement of the greater part of the mitre.

On one side the ground seems to have been formed of horizontal bands, each 1 inch wide, of cloth of gold tissue, sprinkled with pearls. Down the middle was a vertical band, also of gold tissue, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, and bordered with pearls, and similar bands formed the upper borders. These borders were embroidered with trails of very small pearls, leaving at intervals lozenge-shaped panels edged with gold, and worked with fylfots and other devices. The vertical band was embroidered with trails of larger pearls, in the interspaces of which were set imitation turquoises and other counterfeit stones, alternating with the stellar ornaments. These ornaments are of silver-gilt, and each is formed of a six-rayed flower or star, fixed by a short hollow stalk on to a round plate, $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in diameter, with cabled border. In the middle of the flower is a silver socket for a seed pearl. (See Plate XLVII. B.) On the band were still attached a turquoise which forms the topmost jewel, an oval faceted crystal about 4 inches lower down, and an oblong green stone near the bottom. Three of the stellar ornaments also remained, one below each stone, and that next the turquoise still has the little pearl in the centre. (See Plate XLIX.)

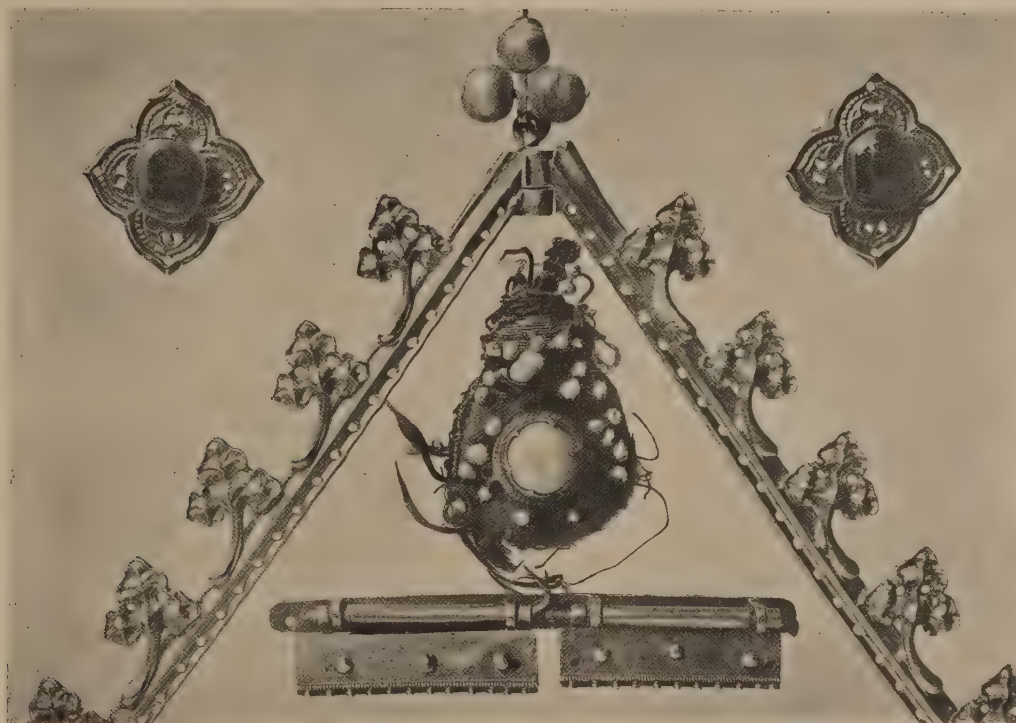
The other side of the mitre was probably arranged and ornamented in the same way, except that the ground was embroidered all over with scrollwork in silver thread, interspersed with trails of small pearls. From its more elaborate design this probably formed the front. (See Plate XLVIII.)

There is nothing left of the original ground of the mitre, but some small remnants^a found with the other materials suggest that it was of velvet, perhaps of a red colour.

It is now clear from the fragments just described that the bands of enamelled and jewelled tablets belonged to the lower border of the mitre, and that none of them was placed vertically.

The tablets forming these bands are of three different patterns, with a uniform depth of $\frac{9}{16}$ inch, and are arranged so that the first alternates alternately with the second and the third. (Plate XLVII. B.) Those of the first pattern are $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, and each consists of a silver-gilt plate, with minutely beaded upper and lower edges, on which are fixed, one over the other, two oblong collets containing respectively a crystal and a green paste gem. In the original arrangement of the

^a In the mitre as restored, these remnants have been laid down for preservation on either side of the large pearl ornament on the front horn.



A.



B.

ORNAMENTAL DETAILS OF THE PRECIOUS MITRE OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM,
BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, 1367-1404. (†)

bands the positions of the two coloured stones are alternated. The tablets of the second pattern are composed of similar but square plates, also with beaded edges, and having each in the middle a high square collet enclosing a crystal, and encircled by a beaded belt to which are affixed eight pearls. The other tablets are square plaques or sockets $\frac{3}{16}$ inch high, and with beaded edges, enclosing silver plates decorated with translucent enamels. All have the same coloured ground, a lovely sapphire blue, and a tree or bush with leaves of green, and yellow or purple, in front of which is an animal. In three this is a monkey ambling along on his four hands, and in two a sitting monkey blowing a horn. In one instance a stag is feeding and on another a lean dog is prowling. In the remainder (to the number of eleven) the beast is in each case a hare, either feeding, or sitting on its haunches, or lying down. All the animals are banded of yellow and purple.* One of the enamelled tablets differs in being $\frac{3}{4}$ inch long



Fig. 1. Hinges and joint of the jewelled bands of Bishop William of Wykeham's precious mitre. (†.)

and slightly narrower than the rest, and having along each of the long sides a row of five pearls. (Plate XLVII. B.) The subject on it shows that it was meant to be placed vertically.

The tablets were originally attached to one another by hinges so constructed as to give the utmost flexibility to the bands. In the case of the enamelled plates the hinge on either side of them is a simple one of nine interlocking members working on a pin. The other hinges are double and interlock on either side of a pin, on which is a row of five gilt beads that form a feature in the design of the bands.

As seen from the back the hinges are suggestive of the component parts of the bands being laced together. (Fig. 1.)

* As noted above, the angels' wings in the enamelled plates on the crook of the crosier are barred of two colours.

Owing to careless treatment of the mitre many of the original hinges have been broken and replaced by others of more simple form.

The bands themselves are composed of sets, each containing an enamelled tablet, and one with the pearled crystal, alternating with two with the twin gems. Of these bands there remain three separated lengths, each comprised of four sets, and another shorter length which, with three other detached tablets, will make another series of four sets. These four lengths therefore supply sixteen sets of tablets. There is also another of four perfect, one quasi-perfect, and sixteen imperfect tablets, more or less clumsily coupled up in one length, in many cases with modern jumped rings, and ending in the pearl-bordered enamelled tablet.

The total length of these sections is $51\frac{3}{8}$ inches, or, deducting the pearl-bordered tablet and a small nondescript piece, $50\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Now there can be no doubt that this length of material belongs not to one band, but to a pair, which encircled the lower edge of the mitre, and the next question is whether any and how many of the tablets are lost.

Of the enamelled plaques there are sixteen perfect and one quasi-perfect, or seventeen in all.

Of the pearl-bordered crystals there are eighteen perfect* and the plates of three others, making twenty-one in all.

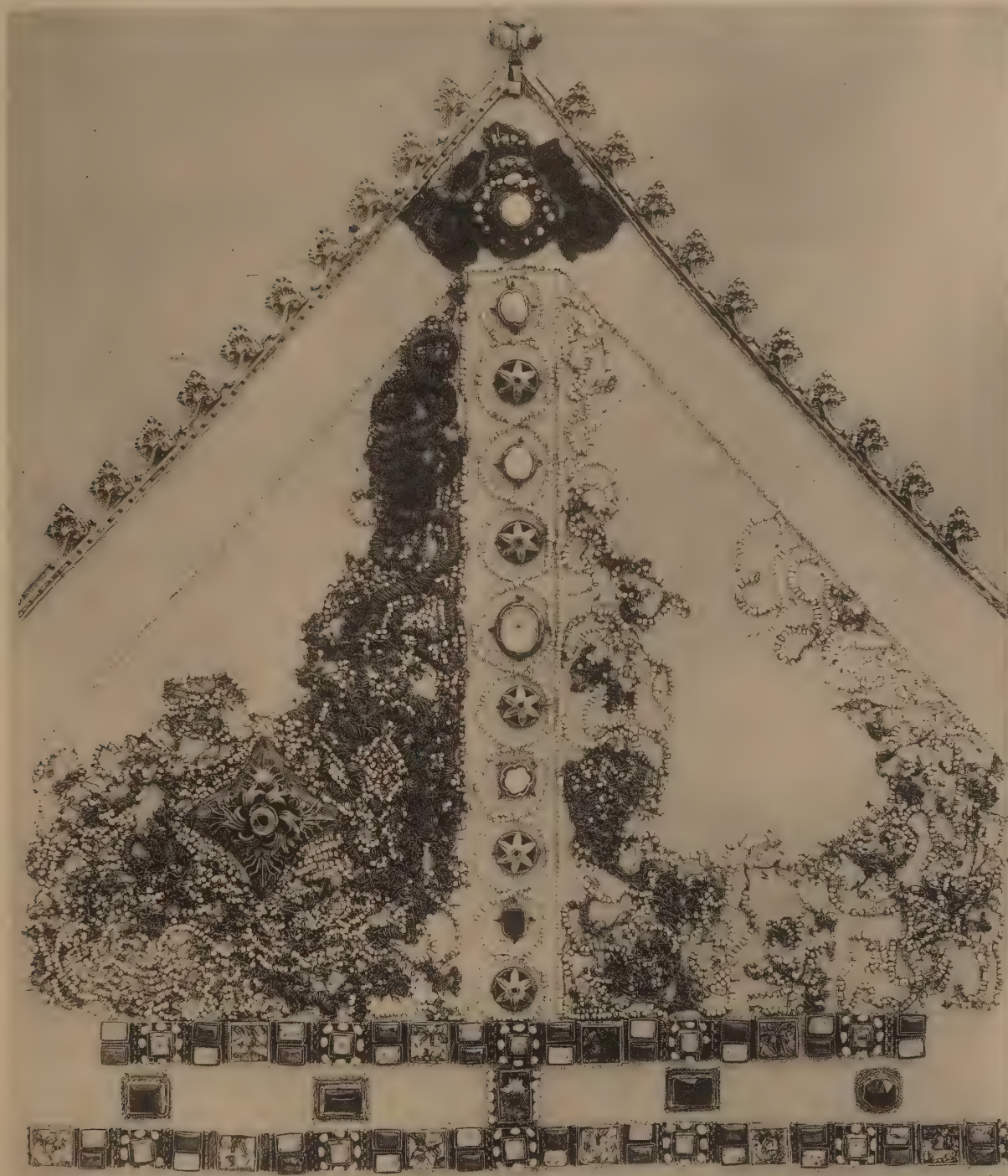
Of the twin gems there are thirty-four perfect, eight imperfect, and three plates, representing forty-five in all.

Now since the twin gems, if the bands were symmetrically arranged, as they no doubt were, were as many as the enamels and pearled crystals added together, and as there must have been an even number of them, there could not have been less than forty-eight, inasmuch as the half of forty-six will not give an equal division of enamels and pearled crystals. There must therefore be missing three of the twin gems, three of the pearled crystals, and five of the enamelled tablets, the united length of which would be about $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

This would give twelve sets of tablets to a band, and as the average length of a set is $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches, each band was $28\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. But there are two enamels which formed the joints of the bands, and are $\frac{1}{4}$ inch longer in bed than the others. This increases the length to $28\frac{3}{4}$ inches, or $57\frac{1}{2}$ inches for the two.

The outside width of the mitre if flat must therefore have been not less than $14\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

* There is also a crystal and its pearls wrongly affixed to an imperfect socket of one of the enamels.



FRONT OF THE MITRE OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, AS RESTORED FROM REMAINING FRAGMENTS.

(½ linear)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

How far apart the bands were placed is uncertain, but since the enamel with the pearly borders must somehow have been associated with them, I think it may be the survivor of a pair, and that they were placed between the bands, either one on either side of the mitre, or one in the middle of the front and the other in the opposite position. This would fix the interval between the bands at $\frac{3}{4}$ inch.

This interval was no doubt filled with some of the jewels already mentioned, but before discussing their possible number and arrangement, it will be well to consider first the disposition of those on the vertical band of the mitre. One of these, as noted above, still has attached to it three of the stellar ornaments, also a large turquoise, an oval crystal, and an oblong green stone.

There is a fellow to this crystal among the loose gems, as well as a number of turquoises, and there are also thirteen more of the stellar ornaments. Of these there must have been at least four on each side of the mitre, and there is also an oval crystal for each, supposing, of course, that the two sides were similarly arranged.

Of loose turquoises there are twelve, and it is curious to notice that six of them are numbered underneath III, VI, VII, X, XI, XII, while the one that is attached is apparently also numbered II.

With them must be associated seven coloured stones, all of similar size and character of setting, and all also numbered underneath III, V, VIII, IX, XIII, XVI, XVII. (See Fig. 2.) There is also an empty collet of the same series likewise numbered VIII.

The two series together give us therefore all the numbers from II to XVII inclusive, with the exception of XIII and XV, and there is a duplicate VIII, which may represent XIII or XVIII.

The meaning of these numbers is not at all clear. They represent no sequence or alternation of colour, nor do they furnish any reasonable arrangement of odds and evens. Moreover there is not enough room for them on the vertical bands, on which place must certainly be found for three, if not four, pairs of the stellar ornaments.

It is true that the turquoise still in place is numbered, but the crystal and the green stone are not so distinguished, and it is possible that the blue stone was originally an unnumbered one. The six turquoises without numbers, and two later unnumbered blue stones set in silver (see Fig. 2), may therefore have belonged to the vertical bands, and the numbered stones have been placed either along the labels or between the bands round the base of the mitre. Of these alternatives the former seems the more likely, and for this reason.

Beside the jewels which have been passed under review there are nine coloured stones of larger size mounted on quadrangular plates with invected edges. (See Plate XLVII. B.) Their form is so suggestive of their having been attached

between the enamelled and jewelled bands round the base that I think this must have been their original position. There were probably a few other stones now lost, and the interspaces were no doubt filled with trails of pearlwork as in other parts of the mitre, perhaps containing the remainder of the stellar ornaments, unless these too belonged to the labels.

There are also two other jewels for which room must be found. One of these is a fleur-de-lis set with a small crystal and four green stones^a (Plate XLVII. B), and a likely place for it is the uppermost point of the mitre. The other is a large pearl set in the same fashion as the turquoises, but sewn on to a padded silk mounting and encircled by a double



Fig. 2. Jewelled ornaments from the mitre of Bishop William of Wykeham. (†.)

row of seed pearls. To one side of this is also attached a small panel worked over with gold thread, and likewise pearled. (See Plate XLVII. A.) As the diameter of the mounting is a full inch, the large pearl cannot have belonged to the lower border, but it might have formed part of the decorations of the body

^a The reverse of this is shown in Fig. 2.



BACK OF THE MITRE OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, AS RESTORED FROM REMAINING FRAGMENTS.
($\frac{1}{2}$ linear)

of the mitre, on which something has yet to be said, or it may have been placed in the uppermost point of the front.

In all the later mitres shown on effigies or in pictures the irregular divisions of the field on either side of the vertical band down the middle are partly filled with large and sometimes smaller devices of some sort, either jewelled or embroidered, and William of Wykeham's mitre no doubt followed the fashion. It is a little difficult, however, to say in what way. Of the various jewels, etc. there remain after the solitary pearl only three ornaments that may have served. They are of silver-gilt, and as they are numbered underneath II, III, IIII, there was clearly another which has been lost. When complete each consists (i) of a cruciform frame with incurved sides, about 2 inches square: on this is fixed (ii) a circular plate with invected edge, from under which issues, cross-fashion, a number of flame-like petals; and upon the plate is (iii) a wreath of twisted leaves kept in place by a red-eyed crystal which surmounts the whole. (See Fig. 2.)

By themselves pairs of these would have made a somewhat insignificant enrichment of the front and back of the mitre, but if we may assume that they were surrounded with pearl-work, there would be no difficulty in making them the centres of very telling ornaments; and if they were accompanied by a few of the large pearls like that on the padded mount, the mitre would have looked precious indeed.^a

There is, however, such a difference of character between these red-eyed ornaments and the others that clearly belonged to the mitre that they may not belong to it at all, and their suggested places may have been taken by other devices.

The general effect of the mitre was of course wonderfully increased by the beautiful silver-gilt crocketed borders. (See Plate XLVII. A.) All four of these have been preserved, but one has unfortunately lost four inches of its length.^b Each consists of a strip of metal $\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide and 10 inches long,

^a When Adam of Orleton became bishop of Hereford in 1317 he borrowed from his chapter various *episcopalia*, including a mitre which had many features in common with William of Wykeham's. It is described as "unam mitram de perlis cum voltis deauratis et amalatis plenis lapidibus pretiosis quam bonæ memoriæ dominus Johannes [*sic* for "Ricardus"] de Synfeud quondam episcopus Herefordensis [1282-3-1316-17] emit a magistro Willelmo de Kyngescote quondam canonico Herefordensi [1303-11] pretij quadraginta librarum." [Reg. Orleton, f. 12 a.]

A *Roll of the Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford*. Abstract, &c. (Camden Soc. 62), xxxvi. note.

^b From certain points of resemblance to the crocketed parts of William of Wykeham's crosier, it is possible that these borders may originally have formed part of an earlier mitre belonging to William of Edington.

strengthened and stiffened down the middle by a ridge, on the upper side of which is fixed a row of ten lovely leaves of cast work with thickened stalks. On the lower side of the ridge is a series of holes for sewing the border on to the mitre. On the upper end of each border is an eye, so placed that one overlaps the other for the passage of the pin that holds them together. This pin had of course an ornamental head that served as the finial to the mitre, but the one surviving pin is a fragment only, and the head has been broken off.

There are preserved with the mitre two sets of three fair-sized pearls fixed on the arms of a wire cross that suggest themselves as finials, for which they would do excellently.^a But the gold instead of silver-gilt wire seems against their having formed the original terminals of the mitre.

It is a matter of great regret that the pendent labels have so completely perished. And the only thing that can definitely be claimed to pertain to them is a metal strip on which are fixed two hinges for their attachment. (Plate XLVII. A.) The strip was of course sewn, through holes for the purpose, on to the hinder edge of the mitre, and the labels were secured partly by rivets and partly by sewing. The rivets are suggestive of the labels having being mounted on leather, and the hinges show that their upper ends were about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide. In the Limerick mitre, which is later in date and somewhat smaller than William of Wykeham's, the labels are $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, without the fringe, and gradually widen out to $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the ends. A series of jewelled and stellar ornaments that possibly belonged to the labels has already been noticed.

As to the future of the mitre, I have proposed to the College that all the loose parts should once more be mounted on a new mitre, as nearly as possible in their original places, so as to make them more intelligible and to minimize further losses, and it has been agreed that this shall be carried out under my direction and supervision. (*See Postscript.*)

Among the miscellaneous objects associated with the Founder's name is a triangular piece of silk, which must have belonged to the precious mitre. (Plate L.) It was once white, but is now of a buff colour, and measures $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches in height by 9 inches across the base. Laid down upon it in crimson satin edged with white (or yellow now faded) is the sacred monogram *ihc* in large separate letters. The upper edges of the triangle are bound with black silk, which was edged with pearls, as may be seen from the remains of them on the sinister side. The lower edge or base is ragged, but a row of needle

^a One of these is shown in the upper part of Plate XLVII.

holes show that it was once joined to something, probably a piece of silk of corresponding shape with the letters $x\bar{p}c$. The remaining fragment therefore probably formed part of the cap or filling in between the horns of the mitre.*

The two mitre cases differ somewhat in construction as well as date.

The earlier is 17 inches high and 12 inches in diameter across the circular



Fig. 3. Original leather case of Bishop William of Wykeham's mitre. ($\frac{1}{4}$ linear.)

base. (Fig. 3.) It is formed of sheet iron, covered with black leather, which is stamped all over with a small fleur-de-lis (Fig. 4), and banded in different directions with iron hooping $\frac{3}{4}$ inch broad.

* In the Inventory of the Vestry of Westminster Abbey made in 1388 the seventh of the list of mitres is described as "de consimili panno [*i.e.* de panno serico vocato Bawdekyn] aurifrigiata est cum ymaginibus habens in utraque parte hoc nomen insertum $\text{the } x\bar{p}c$." *Archaeologia*, lii. 221.

For half of its height upwards the case is circular in plan, but the opposite sides are then gathered in towards the top, which is an oblong of 10 inches by 3 inches.

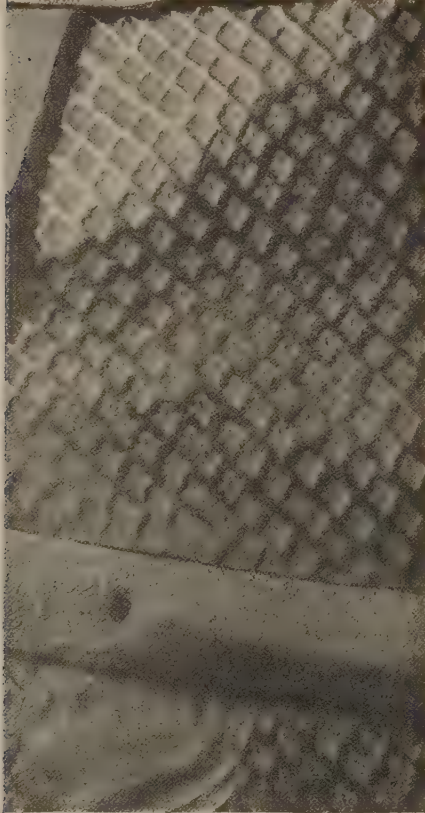


Fig. 4. Stamped fleur-de-lis pattern on the leather case of Bishop William of Wykeham's mitre. ($\frac{1}{4}$.)

The case opens vertically down the middle, but is hinged at the bottom and secured by a lock on the top. The opening is also held together on each side by a hasp and turning pin. On the left half of each side is a pair of iron loops for holding a strap by which the case could be carried. On one side the end of the strap, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide, is left. The inside is lined with baize.

This case is certainly contemporary with the bishop's precious mitre, which could be carried in it without flattening it.

The second case is of similar form to the other, and measures 17 inches in height, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches on the top, and 10 inches in diameter across the base. (Fig. 5.)

It is formed of thin oak boarding, covered with black leather. The surface of this is divided by incised lines into panels, which, on the lower half, contain large leaves, and on the upper half spiral scrolls of leafwork, all likewise incised. The case opens vertically like the other, with hinges at the base, and has a lock

on top and turning catches on each side, but there are no iron hoops. On each side are two iron staples for a strap, a considerable portion of which, of white leather $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, is left. The edges of the opening of the case are covered with crimson leather, and the inside lined with yellow baize.

This case seems to have been made late in the fifteenth century, as a more convenient receptacle for keeping the mitre in than its heavy and more clumsy travelling case.

Of the two rings, one is a small and plain gold one set with a table ruby, and

can hardly be so early as the bishop's days. The other is a large and massive gold one with an irregularly shaped greenish crystal in a heavy claw setting. On each side of the bezel is a figure in low relief of an angel with outspread arms and wings issuing from a cloud, and below some other ornament, beyond which is a St. Andrew's cross.



Fig. 5. Leather mitre case at New College, Oxford. ($\frac{1}{4}$ linear.)

The gloves, which are certainly unique in this country, are of knitted or woven crimson silk, and have an extreme length of $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches. (Plate L.) Round the wrist of each is a band or cuff 2 inches deep and $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, with gold octofoils in octagonal crimson compartments bordered with gold, with smaller green quatrefoils between, also bordered with gold. The whole has an outer

edging of crimson with a gold cable pattern. Round the base of the thumb and of every finger is woven a gold ring with a second one like a coronet above it. On the back of each glove is also a circle $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in diameter with *ihs* in gold, surrounded by wavy rays of gold arranged spirally, making a total diameter of 3 inches. The gloves, including the thumbs and fingers, are woven in one piece throughout, but the cuff bands have a seam along the outside edge, covered with a chain-stitch of thick gold thread and little pale blue tufts. To the lower point of each cuff was attached a tassel, one of which has been recovered from the tangled materials of the mitre. It consists of a row of small woollen balls, covered with a gimp of blue silk and gold thread, and connected together by red and gold cord in this order, 1, 4, 1, 4, 1, 2. The cuffs (only) of the gloves are lined with red silk, and the circular device on the backs is protected by a similar lining 3 inches in diameter.

With the episcopal ornaments of Bishop William of Wykeham there has been preserved a lovely fourteenth-century jewel of red-coloured gold. (Plate XLVI.)^a

It is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high by $1\frac{1}{6}$ inch wide and in form of a crowned Ω . Within the openings of the letter, which are double cusped, stand on brackets two beautifully modelled figures, in gold, of the Archangel Gabriel and the Blessed Virgin Mary, facing each other. The wings of the archangel are enamelled green with yellow bars, and have therefore been wrought on a separate piece of gold, riveted on behind the figure. On the upright bar of the Ω is the pot of lilies usually found in representations of the Annunciation. The pot or vase is here formed of a carved ruby, and the lily has a gold stalk with leaves of translucent green enamel, and three flowers enamelled white. Above the lily pot is a group of three pearls surmounted by a diamond, with a ruby on each side, and below it an emerald between two rubies. On each side of the letter was a large ruby and two emeralds.^b The curves of the Ω end in small gold trefoils, and to that on the sinister side are tied with silk two pearls fixed on to a gold bar, which do not belong to the jewel. The crown surmounting the letter is formed of three large and two small fleurons, jewelled with a ruby and two emeralds with intermediate pearls.

The jewel bears no pin holes for attaching it to anything, but has on the back remains of the hinge of a pin and marks of its catch. It was therefore

^a This jewel has been figured and described by the late Mr. Albert Way in *The Archæological Journal*, ii. 206.

^b On the dexter side the ruby is lost, and on the sinister side the uppermost emerald.



GLOVES AND PART OF MITRE OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, BP. OF WINCHESTER. (1)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

probably a brooch, and an ordinary personal ornament. Its delicate construction forbids its having been a morse or fastener of any heavy vestment; and the fact of its being of gold shows that it had nothing to do with the mitre.

There is probably no other such exquisite jewel of its date, and certainly not of English workmanship, in existence.

The will of Dan William of Waynfleet, who was bishop of Winchester from 1447 to 11th August, 1486, is dated 27th April of the latter year, but makes no mention of any specific bequest of any episcopal ornaments to his College of St. Mary Magdalen, which he had founded at Oxford in 1456.

In the college accounts for 1485-6 a payment of £6 3s. 4d. is entered for bringing various things from Waltham, where the bishop died, to the College in three carts, and the Founder's vestments, etc. were probably among them. There does not seem, however, to be any list or inventory of the bishop's effects, or of any ornaments given by him to his College, or which passed to it at his death. But the College certainly had at least his mitre and crosier, and an inventory of the ornaments of the chapel drawn up in 1495 (see *post*) contains a section headed *Indumenta Episcopalia*, which includes some things that may well have been the Founder's.^a

That the College obtained possession of Bishop William of Waynfleet's mitre and crosier is proved by certain documents relating to their alienation and disappearance.

In some notes printed by Hearne from a manuscript written by Antony à Wood, the latter records:

The founder of Magd his crosier & miter taken away out of the treasury of Magd. by the presbyterians, & Col. Kelsey countenanced them.^b

From an account of certain proceedings for the recovery of the ornaments in 1661^c it appears that they were carried off by one Michael Baker, a messenger of the House of Lords, who having "missed of that share he promised himself in the division of the said Mitre, etc. offered" Dr. Drope, one of the Fellows, "his best service in the behalf of the College, not doubting but a valuable consideration might now be recovered for the premises." A case for the recovery of the ornaments was accordingly drawn up, but counsel's opinion being that the Statute

^a They were not for the boy-bishop and his ministers, as a previous section specifies certain ornaments "*Pro pueris*."

^b T. Hearne, *Liber Niger Scaccarii* (Oxford, 1728), ii. 574.

^c See Dr. Bloxam's *Register of Magdalen College* (Oxford, 1857), ii. 341-346.

of Limitations barred all proceedings at law, petition was made to the House of Lords. This states :

That in the year 1646, by colour of an Order of this Honourable House for seizing Popish Reliques, Michael Baker, a messenger then belonging to that House, took and carried away out of the said College a Mitre, Crosier-Staff, and other things, being the venerable remains of their Founder, esteemed and reputed to be worth about £2000. That the said Mitre and other things were, as the said Baker pretends, delivered unto Mr. Alexander Thaine, then Usher of the Black Rod. That the said Thaine, and one Wheeler, a goldsmith, since deceased, without any Order from this House or other lawful authority, have either concealed the said Mitre, etc. or otherwise converted them to their own use, never rendering any account for the same.

In regard of the fact that the College was dispossessed of the ornaments by virtue or colour of an order of the House and were therefore remediless in any other judicature, the President and Fellows pray that the said Baker and Thaine and Wheeler's executors may be summoned to give an account of the premises, and to restore the goods if not destroyed, or if converted to answer their value.

Through pressure of business and owing to an adjournment of Parliament the parties were not heard, and before the next meeting the death of the President of the College and election of a successor necessitated the whole business being begun all over again. This was done, and a new petition drawn up. It is couched in slightly different language from the former, and gives a little more detail :

That about the year 1646, under pretence of an Order of the then House of Lords, there was seized and carried away from the said College a rich Mitre, with a border of gold garnished with several stones and pearls, a Crosier-Staff, and other things of a very great value, being the sacred and venerable remains of their Founder, belonging to the Chapel of the said College, etc.

By the advice, however, of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London the matter was not pressed, and seems ultimately to have dropped altogether. What actually became of the mitre and crosier, etc. is not recorded. But they were certainly not restored to the College.

The episcopal ornaments believed to have been Bishop William of Waynfleet's, which passed to Magdalen College at his death, consist now only of his buskins and sandals, with which are preserved a curious pair of white leather shoes.^a (Plates LI. and LII.)

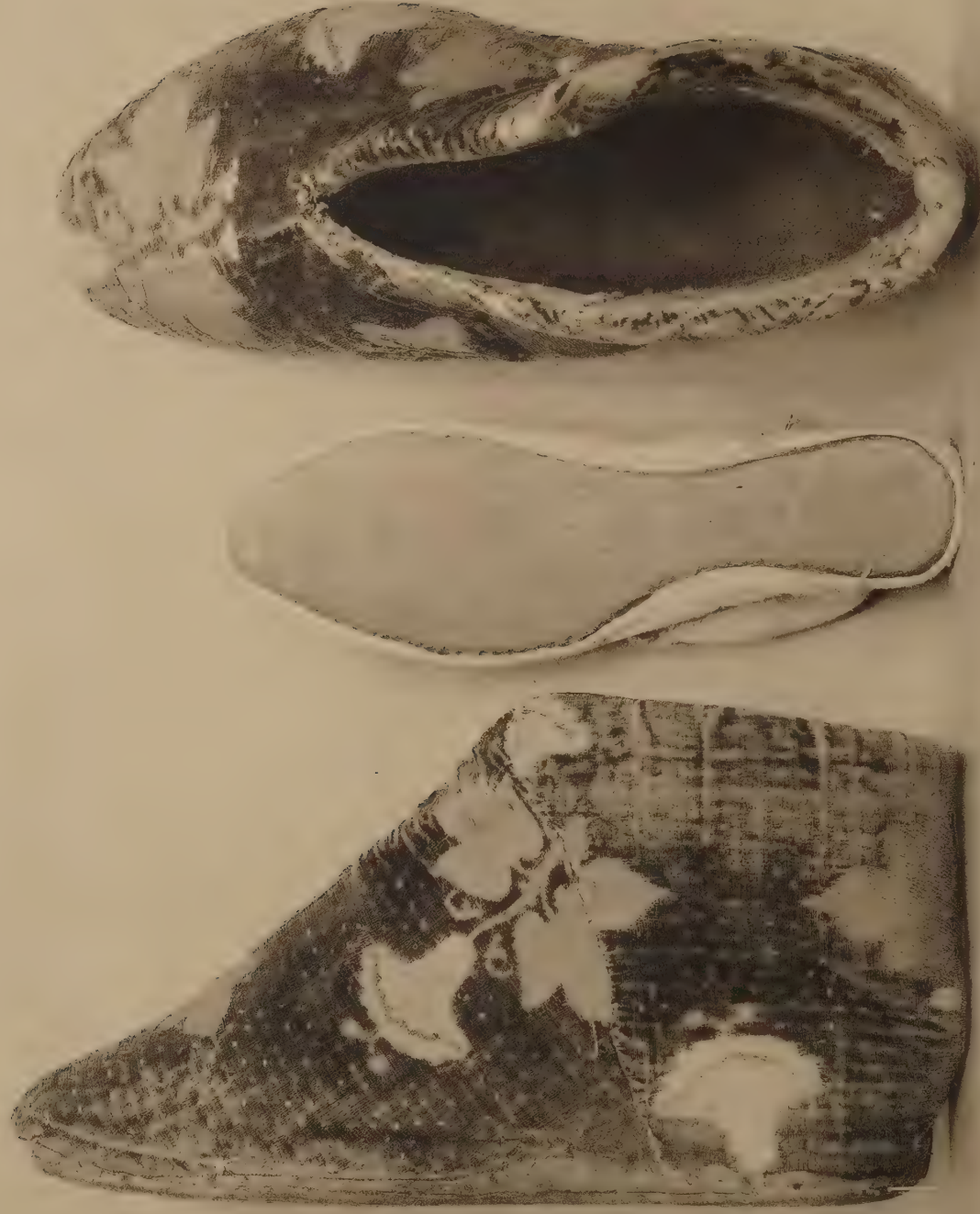
^a The late Dr. Rock, who has figured and described a buskin and a sandal, not very accurately, in his *Church of our Fathers* (ii. 249, 250), adds in a footnote that the sandal "is lined with very thin kid." He writes as if only one buskin and one sandal were preserved in the College.





SILKEN BUSKINS OF WILLIAM OF WAYNFLEET, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, 1447-1486. (3)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.



SANDALS AND SHOE OF WILLIAM OF WAYNFLEET, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, 1447-1486. (†)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

These shoes are rough outside but smooth within, and seamed with linen thread. They have pointed leather soles $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, which show signs of considerable wear, and were apparently fastened by a threefold lace across the front.

The buskins (Plate LI.) have an extreme length of 2 feet, and are made of brocade, originally crimson in colour, but now faded to a brown-pink. The stuff has a bold damask pattern of curving branches, between which is a repeat of (1) a silver eagle with a crown round his neck, sitting on a green and yellow branch of a plant with blue and white cornflowers, and (2) a silver bear, encircled by blue columbine flowers, and sitting on a cloud from which issue green rays.

On one side of each buskin is a button covered with the same stuff, and on the other side a silk lace, for fastening the buskin below the knee.

Both buskins are lined throughout with coarse linen.

The sandals are large and clumsy-looking objects made of thick dark-brown felt covered with brocaded velvet, and with leather soles $11\frac{7}{8}$ inches long. (Plate LII.) The velvet is crimson in colour, powdered with silver or silver-gilt lily flowers on a stalk with two leaves, party green and yellow, and two small white pendent buds. The velvet ground is sprinkled all over with tiny loops of silver thread. There are no traces of any method of fastening the sandals, which must therefore have been worn slipper fashion.

From their relative sizes it is clear that if worn with the sandals and buskins the white shoes must have been put on first, then the buskins, and lastly the sandals.^a

In an inventory of the ornaments, etc. of the college chapel taken in 1495 is the following section, headed *Indumenta Episcopalia* :

Item ij tunicas de damaske albo duplicatam [*sic*] cum blodio tartaroun et par sandalium ejusdem sectæ. Item duas tunicas de rubeo serico duplicatas viridi tartaroun. Item par caligarum de serico cum diversis floribus. Item par caligarum de albo damaske (*added in the margin*). Item par sotularium de tyssue.^b

Possibly the objects under notice may be identified with the "pair of buskins of silk with divers flowers" and the "pair of shoes of tissue."

^a The buskins and sandals may be compared with another perfect English series, those found in the coffin of Archbishop Hubert at Canterbury in 1890. See *Vetusta Monumenta*, vii. plate iv. figs. 1, 2, 3.

^b Through the kindness of the Rev. W. D. Macray, M.A. Hon. Litt.D. F.S.A. this entry has been collated with the original at Magdalen College.

The interesting episcopal ornaments from St. Davids were found in graves which have accidentally been opened during recent repairs in the cathedral church. With one exception, they were certainly made for use, and not to bury, according to custom, with deceased bishops; and their artistic and archæological value are beyond question.

Of the crosier-heads, the finest is that found in a grave on the south side of the presbytery in 1844.^a (Plate LIII. A.) It has unfortunately been broken into several pieces, but still consists of a crook of gilt latten, partly cast upon an iron spike for fixing it into the staff, with a decorated collar for covering the junction of staff and crook, and part of the uppermost knot.

The crook is 7 inches high, and has a plain eight-sided stem, relieved at intervals round the outside of the curved part by small leaves as crockets. As the stem curls round these crockets are supplemented by twisted leaves, and it finally ends in a splendid two-fold conventional flower with broadly expanded petals. The width of this fine head is between 3 and 4 inches.

The collar that covered its junction with the staff consists of a band 1 inch deep, decorated with four vertical strips of delicately engraved and chased ornament, surmounted by a crown of four tall pointed leaves, giving a total height of $2\frac{1}{16}$ inches. The collar itself was fixed at its base to a plain flattened knot, about 2 inches in diameter, of which only part has been preserved.

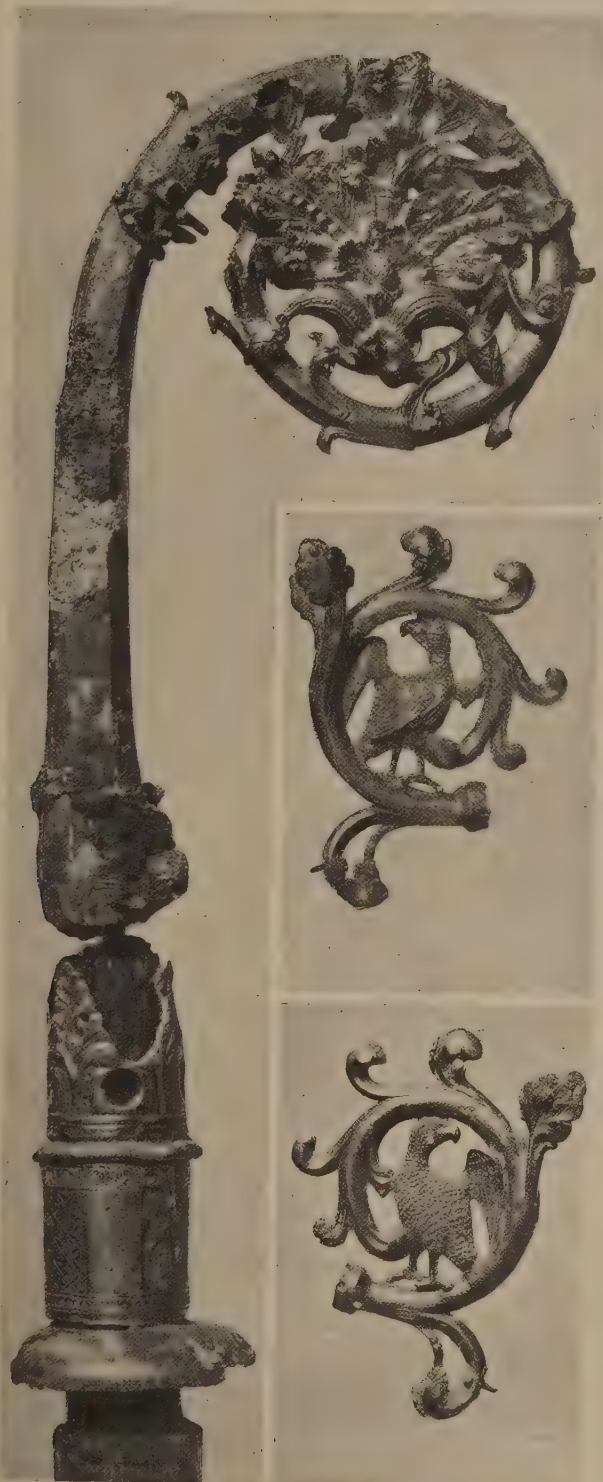
Of the staff, which was apparently of oak, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, some $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches are left. In it is embedded the broken spike of the crook, and its upper part is reduced to $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in thickness to allow the knot and collar to be slipped over it. Round the base of the crook are the remains of a mass of iron rust, the fibrous appearance of which is suggestive of the oxide of iron having gradually replaced, by slow chemical change, part of the linen or silken veil sometimes tied to and hung from the crook of a crosier.

Near to the place where this crosier-head was found is a tomb attributed (without any foundation) to Bishop Gervase, who held the see from 1215 to 1229, but the crook probably belongs to the last quarter of the twelfth century.

The second of the crosier-heads (Plate LIII. B) is of somewhat earlier date than the first, and was found, together with a chalice and ring, during the repairs of 1865-6, in the grave of a bishop immediately in front of the *pulpitum*.^b

^a W. B. Jones and E. A. Freeman, *The History and Antiquities of St. David's* (London, 1856), 113. See also a paper by Mr. J. B. Clear in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd S. xii. 63, and *Spring Gardens Sketch Book*, vi. pl. 60.

^b See plan, etc. in Mr. Clear's paper above referred to.



A.

C.



B.

REMAINS OF CROSIERS FOUND IN THE GRAVES OF BISHOPS OF ST. DAVIDS. ($\frac{1}{4}$ linear.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

The crosier-head, which is quite perfect, is of gilt latten, and consists of two parts, the crook, and the pipe and knot which connected it to the wooden staff. The crook is $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches high. The lower part of its stem is circular, and has at a height of $\frac{7}{16}$ inch up a band of silver $\frac{1}{16}$ inch wide decorated with niello scrollwork. Above this the section gradually becomes oval, and at $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches octagonal, the change being marked by another band of silver and niello. From where the stem begins to curve it is considerably reduced in thickness, and eventually terminates in a spreading mass of branches with stiff leaves and conventional flowers of a character common in carvings of the third quarter of the twelfth century. The whole of the crook is of cast work, and has an extreme width of 3 inches.

The piping is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. It has at the top a band $\frac{9}{16}$ inch deep, engraved with scrollwork, to cover the junction with the crook, and then a plain knot, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter and 1 inch deep. Below this the pipe is divided vertically by delicate engraving into three compartments, one containing two, the others each three circular panels, each with the figure of a dragon. Inside the pipe and the lower part of the crook are some fragments of the wooden staff, which was 1 inch in diameter.

One of the knots of the staff has also been preserved. It is somewhat flattened in section and quite plain, and has above and below it a short piece of piping, the one round, the other octagonal, also plain. The total length is $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. A bit of the staff remains inside.

The ring found with this crosier is a plain gold one, with an uncut rose-coloured gem, perhaps a balas ruby, set in an elongated octagon.

The chalice is a fine and perfect example, of silver, $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches high. (Fig. 6, A.) The bowl is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep, with a slight lip. The stem is only $1\frac{1}{16}$ inch long, eight-sided, and encircled by a plain circular knot of somewhat flattened section.^a The foot is plain and round, and, as usual, of about the same diameter as the bowl. This elegant chalice belongs to Type B,^b and to the second half of the thirteenth century. It was evidently made for use, and is not a mere coffin-chalice.

The grave in which these ornaments^c were found is believed to be that of

^a The piece of silver under the knot, at its junction with the stem, has been recently added by Mr. Krall by way of repair, owing to the chalice being broken at that point.

^b Of Hope and Fallow's classification. See *Archæological Journal*, xliii.

^c The crosier-head, chalice, and paten are also drawn full-size in *The Spring Gardens Sketch Book*, vi. pl. 60; they are also figured with the ring, etc. in Mr. Clear's paper in *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

Bishop Richard of Carew, 1256-1280, who is recorded to have been buried "before the altar of St. Cross, in the south part." The point is not, however, very material, as the ornaments were deemed old or disused at the time of their burial.

Of a third crosier-head only a beautiful fragment was found, in an unmarked grave to the north of that last-mentioned. (Plate LIII. c.) The fragment is fortunately complete in itself, and consists of a rounded stem with stiff stalked



B.

A.

Fig. 6. Silver chalices found in graves of Bishops of St. Davids. ($\frac{2}{3}$ linear.)

leaves and buds at intervals, curved into a circular form, and enclosing a standing figure of an eagle. Like the others it is a casting of gilt latten, but has evidently been made to fit on to the end of a wooden or ivory crook, to which it was further attached by pins passing through the largest pair of leaves and a subsidiary curved branch below the eagle. None of the staff of which it formed part seems to have been preserved, nor its character noted. This finely modelled fragment is of a date *circa* 1200.

With it were found a ring, a silver chalice and paten, three fragments of silver ornament, and a penny of Edward I.^a

The ring is a plain gold one, with an uncut stone of irregular oval form, the setting of which is strengthened with four projecting claws. (Fig. 7.) The stone is apparently an amethyst, and has a pear-shaped natural dent on the surface.

The chalice is $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, and of silver, with a broad and shallow bowl with slight lip, a plain circular knot and stem in one piece, and a rather tall and round spreading foot. (Fig. 6, B.) It thus belongs to Type A, and to the first half of the thirteenth century. The bowl is $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide and $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch deep, and the foot of equal diameter with the bowl. This interesting chalice is in a very brittle and fragile state, and parts of both bowl and foot have been broken out and lost. Of the paten only about half remains. It was 4 inches in diameter, with a single depression in the form of a square and quatrefoil combined^b and an engraved circle in the middle. It belongs to Type B.

The three fragments of silver (Fig. 8) average $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch in length. They have all been stamped in the same mould, and are embossed with a scroll pattern ending in a rude fleur-de-lis. Each is pierced with a symmetrical series of nail holes. Some of the nails remain, and are $\frac{7}{16}$ inch long and of silver. The fragments have apparently formed part of the metal decorations of the crosier.

The grave in which these ornaments were found is believed, but without any authority, to be that of Bishop Thomas Bek, 1280—1293.

The fourth crosier-head is a remarkable object of very unusual character.

^a See Mr. Clear's paper above noted.

^b This peculiar form of sinking also occurs on a paten found in Lincoln Minster in the grave of Bishop Richard of Gravesend, 1258-1279.



Fig. 7. Gold ring found in the grave of a Bishop of St. Davids. (†.)



Fig. 8. Silver fragments found in the grave of a Bishop of St. Davids. (†.)

What remains of it consists of a pair of latten plates, cut to the shape of a simple crook, with large and small crockets alternating along both edges. Several of these are pierced with holes for pinning the plates together. The plates are barely $\frac{1}{16}$ inch thick, and were separated by a thin plate of lead of the same shape. The core thus formed seems to have served as the foundation for an ornamental covering of lead, probably of cast work and gilded. Unfortunately the lead had become so oxidised from lapse of time that almost all of it has perished. The total height of the crook was about $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Its lower end was fixed into a leaden ball with a covering of latten, and at the bottom end of the staff was a blunted ferule, also of latten. (Plate LIV.)

This example differs from the other crosier-heads in being merely a piece of funeral furniture. It was found in the grave beneath the effigy of Bishop Henry of Gower, 1328-1347, which lies under the southern half of the *pulpitum*.^a

POSTSCRIPT.

Since this paper was read, the remains of Bishop William of Wykeham's mitre have been mounted on a new foundation of unbleached linen, in the way shown on Plates XLVIII. and XLIX. As will be seen, an approximate place has been found for everything save the three gold-mounted emeralds, which may not have belonged to the mitre at all. The other jewels not shown in the plates have been placed on the new labels which have been added to the mitre.

The tedious work of laying down the fragments has been most carefully and skilfully carried out, as a labour of love, by Mrs. A. H. Christie, who has also restrung all the loose seed-pearls and re-used them wherever possible.

^a See Mr. Clear's paper above noted.



LATTEN FRAME AND FERULE OF A FUNERAL CROSIER FOUND IN THE GRAVE OF HENRY GOWER,
BISHOP OF ST. DAVIDS, 1328-47. ($\frac{3}{4}$ linear.)

XXI.—*The Cistercian Abbey of Stanley, Wiltshire.* By HAROLD BRAKSPEAR,
Esq., F.S.A.

Read 20th June, 1907.

THE site of the abbey of Stanley is a wide valley two and a half miles east of Chippenham, in Wiltshire. It is upon the south bank of a little river called the Marden, which rises on Calston Down some five miles to the east, and joins the Avon just above Chippenham. Stanley owes its origin to one Drogo, a chamberlain of the Empress Maud, at whose instigation her son Henry, then Earl of Anjou, gave a place called Locwell (now Lockswell) in the manor of Chippenham in perpetual alms to God and St. Mary of Quarr, in the Isle of Wight, for the purpose of there founding a monastery.^a

From the founder, Drogo, this abbey was called *de Drogonis Fonte* or Drownfont,^b the second part of the name being derived from the copious springs of pure water which abound on the site, and are used at the present time to supply the inhabitants of Corsham and part of Lacock.

Three years after the foundation of Drownfont, owing apparently to the exposed position of the first settlement, the monks removed to Stanley, a place in the King's Manor of Chippenham.^c Buildings were begun in stone on the new site, and in 1204 the convent had increased sufficiently to be able to send out

^a *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1825), v. 563.

^b In Rev. W. Bowles, *The Parochial History of Bremhill* (London, 1828), 96, is the text of a grant, then in the possession of Edward Baynton, of a pasture near Lacock Bridge by the Empress Maud and her son to the abbey *Sanctæ Mariæ de Drogonis Fonte*, and on p. 95 another grant of a hide of land in Lamburn *Sanctæ Mariæ de Drownfont*.

^c *Monasticon Anglicanum*, v. 563.

a colony to Ireland to occupy an abbey founded at Graignamanagh.^a The monks seem to have had difficulty in obtaining a good water supply at Stanley, for in 1214 Thomas Calstone, the abbot, completed an aqueduct from the old supply at Lockswell to his new house.^b

The early buildings were, like those at the mother house of Quarr, begun to be rebuilt for no apparent reason within fifty years of their foundation. In 1241 the abbot and convent exchanged part of their quarry at Hazlebury, in Box parish, with the canonesses of Lacock for their quarry at the same place which was bought of Henry Crook some years before.^c

In 1247 the convent entered the new monastery, which doubtless means that the eastern part of the church and the new eastern range of buildings were finished.^d The church, however, was not ready to be hallowed until 1266, in which year that ceremony was performed by William of Wyle, then bishop of Salisbury.^e

In 1270, on St. John Baptist's day, the new frater was finished and entered by the convent.^f

During the fourteenth century some building works were undertaken in connexion with the church, and new cloister alleys were built.

Just before the Suppression some of the abbey was "newe buylded,"^g though what part is not possible to tell except that it was not any of the claustral buildings.

The abbey was suppressed with the lesser monasteries in 1536, and on the 29th of June the year following the site and part of the possessions were granted to Sir Edward Baynton of Bromham, in consideration of the sum of £1,200, which was paid by instalments.^h

^a Leopold Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium Tomus I.* (Vindobonæ, 1877), 210.

^b Bodl. Lib., Digby MS. 11 (vide Bowles' *Bremhill*, 119): Hoc anno (1214) perfectus est aquæductus de Lokeswelle versus abbatiam de Stanley in Wilts a domino Thoma de Colestune abbate ejusdem domus.

^c *Lacock Cartulary*, f. 30b.

^d Digby MS. 11, f. 184. (Vide Bowles' *Bremhill*, 120.) 1247. Ingressus est conventus de Stanlegh novum monasterium.

^e *Ibid.* f. 187. 1266. Dedicata est ecclesia de Stanleze in Wiltshire a domino Waltero de Wyle tunc Sarum episcopo.

^f *Ibid.* Eodem anno (1270) intravit conventus de Stanleze in Wiltes novum refectorium scilicet die beati Johannis Baptiste.

^g P. R. O. Chantry Certificates, 100, 2.

^h *Patent Roll 28 Henry VIII.*, part 3, m. 6, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.* xii. pt. i. 143.

This Sir Edward Baynton was building at this time a considerable house at Bromham, for which he had license to remove stone from old Corsham House and Devizes Castle.^a He apparently began, as soon as he got possession, to pull down Stanley for the same purpose.

Aubrey, writing about 1665, says that "here is now left scarce any vestigium of Church or house. *Mem. Old Mr. Ansted. natus. 1588*, told me he was born in this Abbey."^b

If this memorandum be correct some part of the abbey was converted into a dwelling-house at the Suppression, which is rather borne out by the finding of the head of a dragon, one of the supporters of Henry VIII., in the late excavations on the site of the western range of buildings. This western range may have been converted into a house, as the occurrence of a stout wall across its south end can hardly have been for anything monastic, and in addition the foundations of the outer walls for the great part remain, indicating a different period of demolition from the rest of the building.

From the Bayntons the site descended to Mrs. Starkey of Bromham, upon whose death it was bought by the Marquess of Lansdowne, the present owner.

The position of the principal buildings has always been known, though every vestige of them above ground has long disappeared. A level square marked the site of the cloister, and as the ground sloped down to the river on the north, the church must have been on the south side. On the east side of the cloister were high mounds, on the south the frater was marked by a deep sinking, but on the west the site was fairly level; eastward were further sinkings and mounds marking the position of the infirmary buildings.

At the end of 1905 the Marquess of Lansdowne was approached by the writer through Mr. Herbert Smith, his lordship's agent, with the suggestion that some excavations should be made on the site. This suggestion meeting with approval, and the tenant's consent being readily obtained, four men were at once put at the writer's disposal.

The first week's work being of interest, the excavations were continued, through the liberality of the owner, for some months, until all that remained of the claustral buildings was traced. Trenches were also cut across the site of the infirmary, but with little result. The whole of the buildings, except the western range, had been so rifled for stone at various times that in most cases the main

^a Leland's *Itinerary* (ed. 1744), ii. 27.

^b *Wiltshire Collections* (1862), 113, 114.

walls were grubbed up to the veriest foundations, and the lines of many were only marked by sinkings in the ground. For all that the result has been far from fruitless, and has enabled the plan of another Cistercian abbey to be definitely settled as far as possible under the circumstances.

THE PRECINCT.

The precinct at Stanley was roughly rectangular, with its longest faces to the north and south. (Fig. 1.) It contained about 24 acres,^a and the main buildings around the cloister were placed in the north-west angle. It was surrounded by dykes, which were filled with water by a system of sluices, and though now dry are perfect in all but a part of the west side. The precinct may have been further protected by a wooden stockade on the main bank of the ditches, as no sign of a surrounding wall remains.

A long leat for the water, that filled the ditches on the south and east sides, runs in at the south-west angle of the precinct from the high ground to the south. It is banked on both sides, but that on the west is wider than the other, and had on the top a causeway by which the abbey was approached. On the west side of this causeway was a pond 500 feet from north to south and averaging 130 feet in width, which was also supplied by water from the high ground, and formed the mill pond. The western ditch of the precinct was used as the mill leat and ran from the pond to the river. At slightly more than half-way down this ditch was a small pond, beyond which northward the ditch is destroyed by a farmyard, but shows again immediately to the north of the farm buildings.

The ditch on the north side was supplied by water from the river, which was tapped a little above the precinct. This ditch runs in a straight line to the north-west angle of the precinct, where it joins the western ditch before emptying into the river, and had an overflow to the river opposite the main block of buildings.

In addition to the main ditches there is a wide ditch running from the middle of the east ditch some 500 feet directly towards the claustral buildings, and then turning southwards for over 100 feet. Another ditch joins the last from the south ditch at about 200 feet from the east ditch. An overflow from the middle ditch runs to the north ditch nearly parallel with, and 300 feet from,

^a The area of the precinct at Beaulieu was about 58 acres, Fountains 55 acres, and Boxley 23 acres.

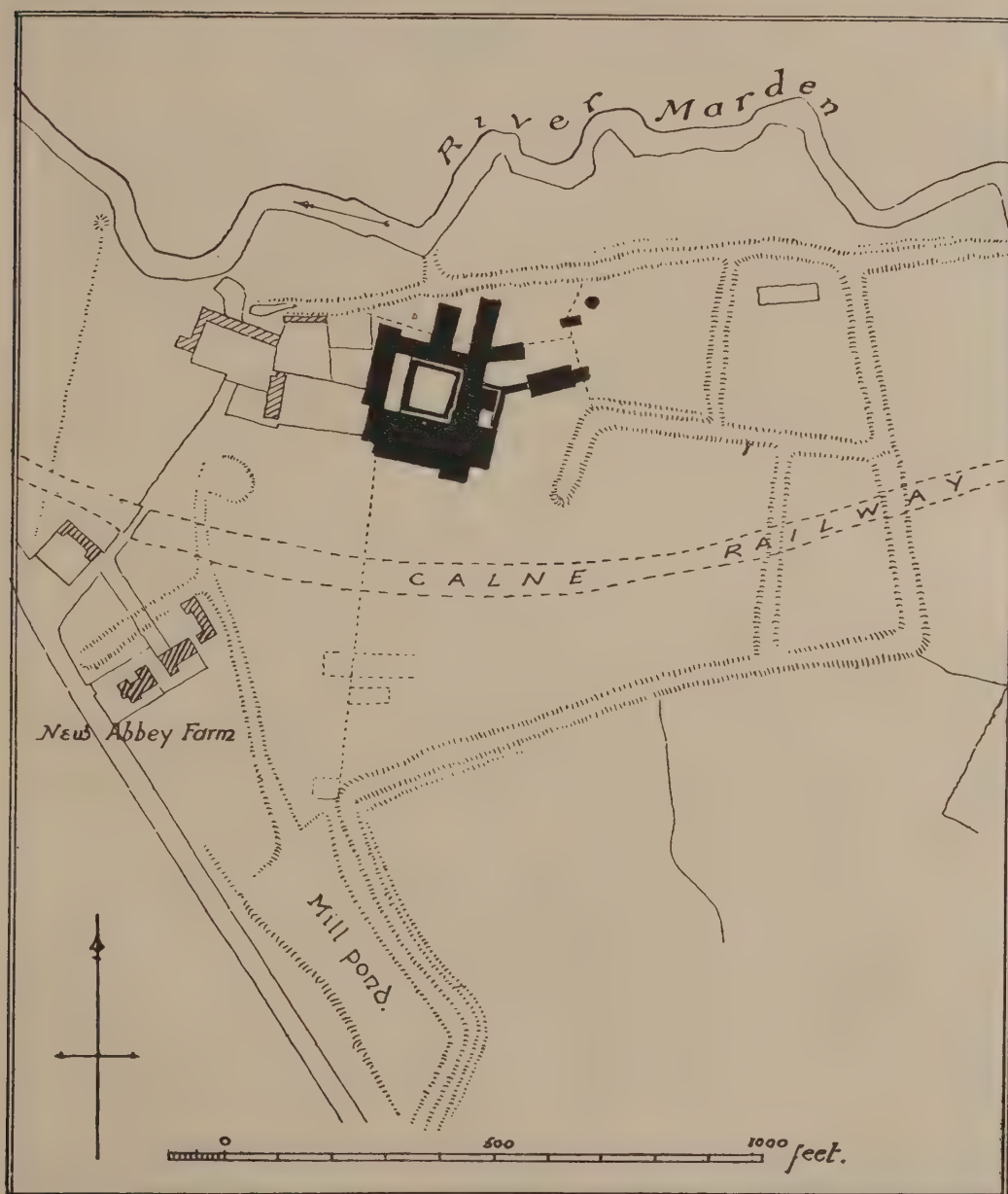


Fig. 1. Stanley Abbey, Wilts. Plan of the Precinct.

the east ditch. These cross ditches divide the eastern part of the precinct into two islands, in the northern of which is a small fish pond.

Besides all these ditches are the remains of another just in front of the present "Abbey Farm," and from its west end is a bank as far as the mill pond; the area thus enclosed may have been for the mill and its yard. Another bank runs from the present road parallel to, and at about 300 feet from, the western ditch, as far as the river, where it stops with a small mound. This boundary is unlike the others in character and may mark a later extension of the precinct.

At the point where the causeway joins the south-western angle of the precinct was the outer gate of the monastery, now marked by irregularities in the ground.

The inner gate was some 200 feet northward, as is shown by a series of depressions and mounds, and had in connexion with it a long range of buildings going in an easterly direction.

A wall ran from the inner gateway to the south-west angle of the church, which with the west side of the precinct enclosed the outer court of the abbey.

On the east side of the outer court towards the north was the principal group of buildings around the cloister. Owing to the slope of the ground from south to north the church was on the south side of the cloister; the dorter over the chapter-house, parlour, and novices' lodging on the east; the warming-house, frater, and kitchen on the north; and the cellarer's building, separated from the cloister by a court, on the west. Eastward of these buildings was the monks' infirmary, which with its garden occupied the space up to the inner ditches on the east. The cemetery seems to have been on the east and south sides of the church.

The main drain of the abbey started from the west end of the ditch, which runs westward from the middle of the east side of the precinct, and was taken northward about 120 feet under some of the infirmary buildings. At this point it appears to have turned at right angles, and passing under the north ends of the claustral buildings, emptied into the north ditch at its west end. The first portion of the drain continued northward, apparently as an overflow, into the north ditch, and was 5 feet in width. No part of the main drain was found, but it is not likely to have been of less width than the overflow.

In 1860 to 1863 the Calne railway was cut through the precinct from west to east, but to the south of the claustral buildings and to the north of the gate-house. There is a report that a number of stone coffins were found, but this cannot be verified. The foundation of one wall shows in the cutting.

THE CHURCH.

The first church appears to have been of the same plan as Bindon, Cleeve, Calder, Roche, and Buildwas, having a small aisleless presbytery, transepts with two chapels to each divided by solid walls, a nave with aisles, and a low tower over the crossing. As every part of this, except a fragment of the foundations of the north wall of the transept, the walls of the pits beneath the quire stalls and perhaps the foundations of the nave arcade, has gone it is impossible to tell its character.

In the thirteenth century this church was rebuilt or greatly enlarged, and finished sufficiently to be hallowed in 1266. The old nave may have been merely remodelled, but the presbytery was increased to one of three bays with aisles, and the south transept to three bays with two eastern chapels. The north transept, owing to the adjoining claustral buildings, could not be similarly enlarged, and probably contained a considerable part of the original work.

In the fourteenth century the church was further enlarged by the addition of a row of chapels on the south side, beyond the aisle of the nave, but whether these extended as far as the west end there is no evidence to show. The *pulpitum* or quire screen was rebuilt about the same time, and the quire stalls were doubtless altered or renewed.

The presbytery was about 50 feet in length by 31 feet wide. The east wall had gone, but was marked by a sinking in the ground. The foundation of the first pier on the north was found, and in connexion with it was a portion of a screen wall 28 inches thick. This screen filled the second arch, and probably, as at Fountains and Tintern, was continued under the other arches of the presbytery and separated it from the aisles. About 8 feet inside the east end was a solid platform of uncertain extent that marked the site of the high altar, the space behind being used for a vestry, as at Roche, Kirkstall, and other places.

The aisles ended in line with the main east wall as at Rievaulx, Salley, Netley, and Tintern, and had chapels in the easternmost bays. Of the south aisle nothing but the depression of its grubbed-up outer wall remained. Of the north aisle a large piece of the tile flooring was found in position. There were indications of a cross step in line with the first pillar of the arcade, and another 7 feet eastward, leaving a space 10 feet wide for the altar platform. The tiles were set without any reference to their patterns except below the first step, where

the general flooring was of plain yellow and black tiles with a border of two rows of tiles.

The crossing is now marked by the four holes from which the tower piers have been grubbed.

The quire, from the first, was partly under the crossing, and a considerable length of the walls to support the stalls of the first work was found on the north, and a fragment of the inner wall on the south side. The gangway between the two ranks of stalls was $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet.



Fig. 2. Sunken pillar in south transept.

The south transept was about 48 feet long by 24 feet wide, and had an arcade of three arches on the east. The first arch, which had a step across it, led into the aisle of the presbytery, and the other two into the chapels, which were also raised a step above the transept floor. The two pillars of the east wall were found sunk

into pits, off their proper beds, and without bases or foundations, indicating that this part of the building had been destroyed wholesale with the use of props and mining the foundations. (Fig. 2.)

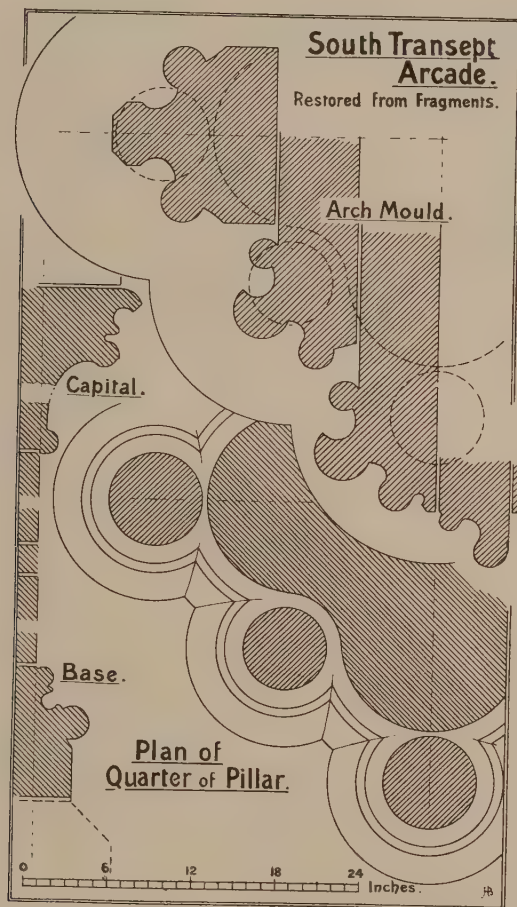


Fig. 3. Architectural details of the south transept.

With the exception of Lewes Priory no other example of this drastic method of destruction of monastic buildings is known, but there the process is minutely described in a letter to Cromwell from Giovanni Portinari,^a who was employed to

^a Recently published by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope in the *Sussex Archaeological Society's Collections*, xlix. 76-81, with translations. Mr. Hope has since come across documentary evidence of similar destruction at Barking Abbey, Essex.

raze the great church and infirmary to the ground. At Stanley this transept was apparently the only part so treated, which may possibly be due to the tragic end

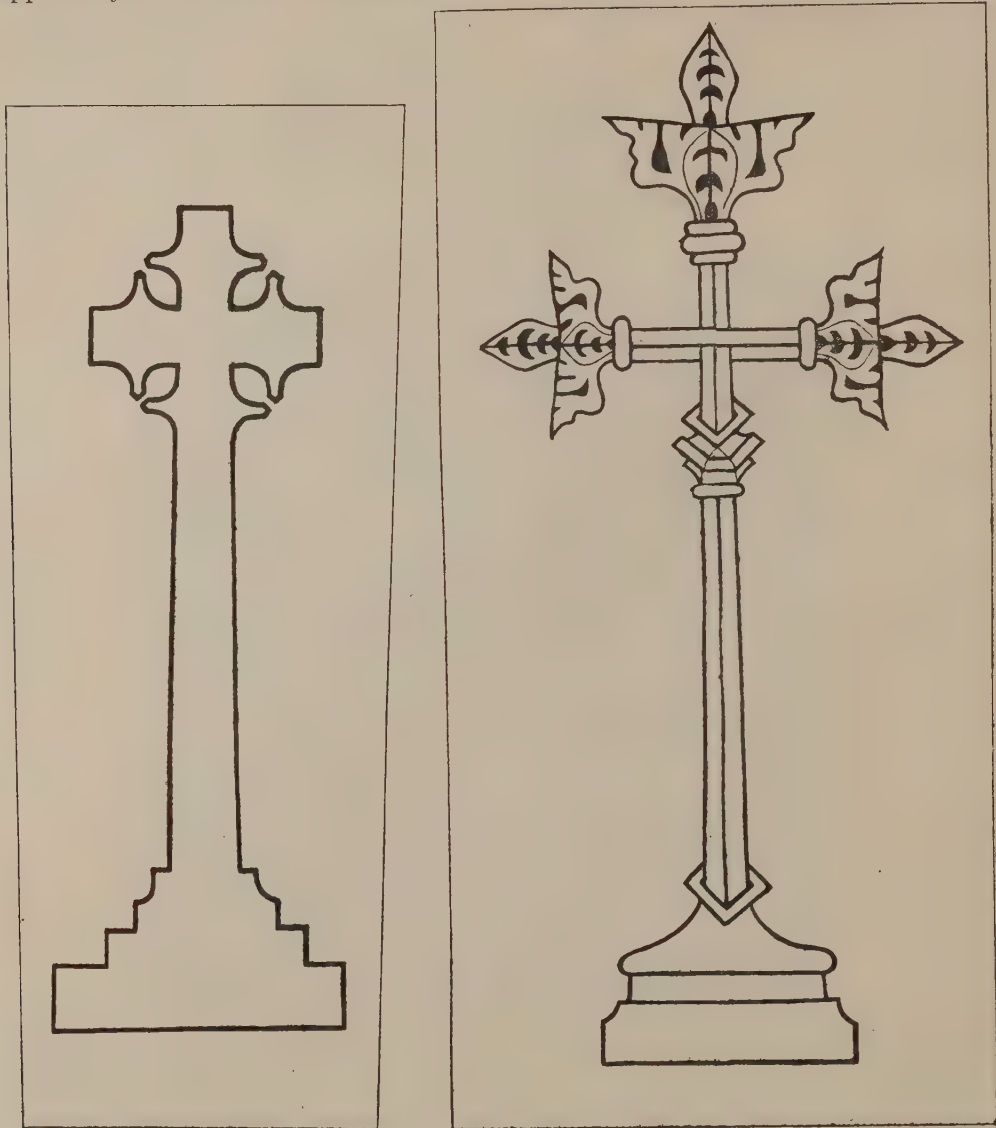


Fig. 4. Incised grave stones found in the south transept. ($\frac{1}{16}$ linear.)

of one of the workmen, whose skeleton was found beneath the fallen masonry.

The pillars consisted on plan of four half-circles surrounded by eight

detached columns, which were banded, probably at half height, and the capitals were moulded. The arches were of three moulded members and had hood-moulds. (Fig. 3.) Fragments of all these different parts were found as they fell, but not a single vaulting rib was met with, which, judging from the number of these found elsewhere, seems to show that no part of the transept was vaulted.

In front of the middle arch was a large patch of pavement, in which were two grave slabs undisturbed. (Fig. 4.) The southern was 6 feet long by 2 feet 6 inches wide and incised with a simple cusped cross with stepped base. The northern, which was slightly later in date, was $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide, and of unusual thickness. It had incised upon it a large cross with foliated ends and a moulded base. On neither slab was any inscription, nor was anything found beneath.

The north transept was the same width as the south but only 43 feet in length. It had two arches on the the east leading into the presbytery aisle and a chapel respectively.

The west wall, of which a fragment of the foundation was found, projected into the cloister about 4 feet beyond the line of the eastern range. A great mass of foundation of the north wall, about 10 feet thick, was found with a return footing running southwards. This appeared to belong to the earlier church, as the return footing was eastward of the later line of pillars.

There were to the westward a fragment of tile flooring and the indications of a step to the chapel. In a trench that was cut from this point southward a number of square tiles bearing letters was found. As none other was met with they may have formed an inscription to some monument.

The nave was 130 feet long by 32 feet wide and of eight bays. The arcades were carried on square blocks of foundation of which four were found on the north side and one on the south. A fragment of the west wall also remained. Not a vestige was found of any architectural detail that could have belonged to the main structure of the nave, so that with the fragmentary nature of the foundations it is not possible to say definitely if the thirteenth century rebuilding extended to this part of the church. It should, however, be remembered that the space between the quire stalls is too narrow for them to have co-existed with a nave of the width of that found, and if the usual width of double stalls be added to the interspace it would make the original nave of the same width as the transepts, which it is reasonable to suppose it was in the first place. Between the third and fourth pillars on the north was a grave, over which were found a

number of fine painted fragments of a fifteenth-century tomb that presumably covered it.

Of the north aisle no remains are left save a patch of flooring of plain tiles against the fourth pillar and the foundation of a cross wall at the third pillar. This probably supported a screen to enclose a chapel in the aisle behind the bay with the tomb, which was a usual treatment of nave aisles in late days, as at Fountains, Kirkstall, and Rievaulx.

The south aisle was 11 feet wide, and a mass of foundation of its south and west walls remains at the south-west angle.

In the fourteenth century a new *pulpitum* was built, of which the lower part of the western screen wall is left. It was 34 inches thick, and had a doorway 3 feet 8 inches wide in the middle. This had a stone sill, which remains, and the arch was a pointed segment simply moulded; of this a stone forming one of its sides was found. Eastwards of this wall was a quantity of tile flooring laid very carelessly and partly covering the pits of the earlier quire stalls.

During the first half of the fourteenth century chapels were added on the outside of the south aisle. They were about 20 feet wide and had solid dividing walls. Indications of at least four chapels were found, but they probably extended the entire length of the nave up to the west end, as at Maulbronn in Germany and at Melrose in Scotland, though no similar example has yet been found in England.

In the first and second chapels a fragment of the floor remained. In the third was a large surface of flooring which was formed of tiles 8 inches square. These bore the leopards of England, the chevrons of Clare, and three lions rampant, and were laid in pattern with cross and diagonal bands. This floor extended across the line of the aisle wall, showing that the chapel was connected therewith by a wide arch. The dividing wall between the third and the fourth chapels remained, and in connexion with it in the line of the aisle wall was the eastern base of the respond which carried the arch between the chapel and aisle (fig. 5). The respond was formed of three circular shafts, with beads and hollows between. The base mould of the two rolls followed the line of the pier, but below was octangular and had a small plinth. A portion of the flooring of the fourth chapel remained. The south wall of the church extended some 17 feet beyond the west wall, showing that across the west end was a galilee porch, a not unusual, though by no means an essential, addition to a Cistercian church.

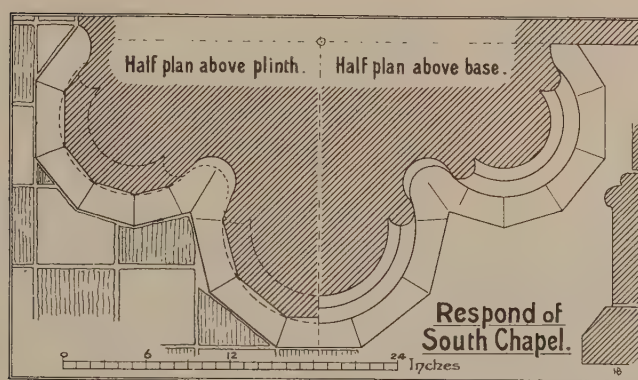


Fig 5. Respond of the south chapel.

THE CLOISTER.

The *claustrum* or cloister was not quite square, being 105 feet from east to west by about 100 from north to south. It had originally pentise-covered walks on all the four sides, supported towards the court by a series of arches on coupled columns with moulded capitals and bases, of blue lias, which rested on dwarf walls. Fragments of the capitals and bases were found in various parts of the abbey, but chiefly near the *pulpitum*, in which they had been used up as old material. This shows that the cloister was rebuilt in the fourteenth century. The inner walls were about 2 feet thick, and found on all but the south side. They had no buttresses, so the roof must still have been of wood, though what was the character of the walls is impossible to say, as only a few fragments of fourteenth-century mouldings were found. The alleys varied in width from 12 feet on the east to 9 feet on the west, and were all floored with tiles. The flooring of the west alley was found in a very perfect state for over 40 feet, and has been covered by a permanent shed in order to preserve it in position.

THE VESTRY.

Adjoining the church, on the east side of the cloister, was the vestry; it was 14 feet wide, but its extent eastward is uncertain. In its north wall was a late inserted doorway, of a single member moulded with two ogees, of which the east jamb alone remained, together with part of the stone sill. From the character of the stop beneath the moulding of the jamb it appears to be post-Suppression in date, in which case the amount of the monastery converted into a house was considerable.

THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

Next to the vestry was the *capitulum* or chapter-house, which was all of the thirteenth-century rebuilding, and was 60 feet in length by 30 feet in width. It was six bays long, and divided into three aisles, of which the middle was wider than the others, by two rows of columns, and vaulted with cross and diagonal moulded ribs without bosses. The columns were monolithic, $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches in circumference and 6 feet 2 inches in height; they had moulded capitals and bases, and were all

formed of a hard blue lias stone. (Fig. 7.) Each joint was bedded in sheet lead. The moulded base had a freestone block beneath upon which it was bedded on three flat pieces of iron set in hard cement; but in order that the base might not press unevenly on the iron before the cement was set, wooden wedges were inserted on three sides. (Fig. 6.) These were doubtless removed when

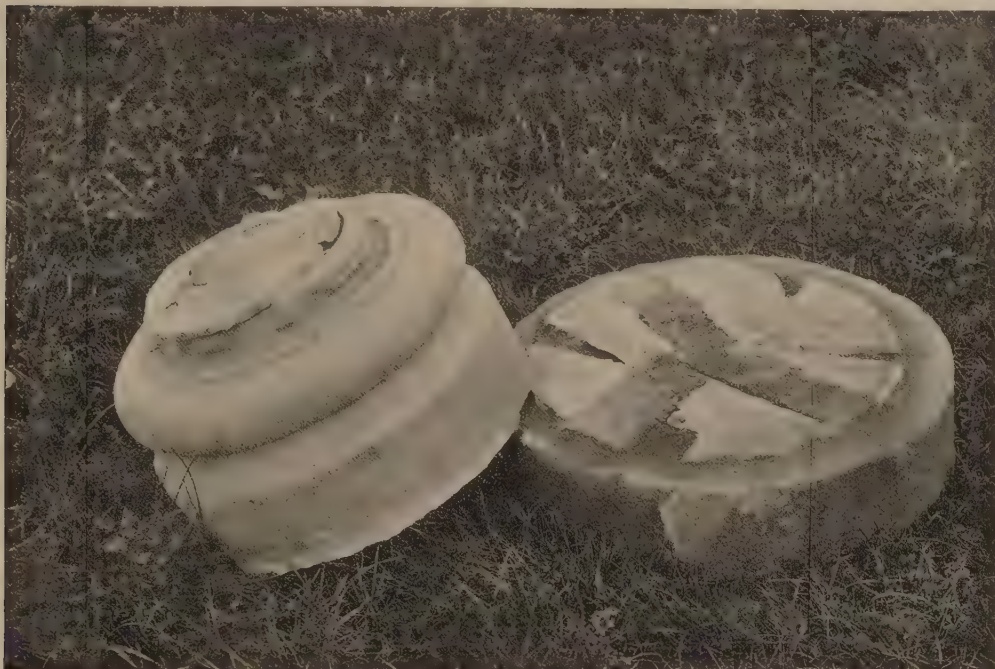


Fig. 6. Base from the chapter-house, showing lead and iron packing.

the cement was set, but what was the use of the pieces of iron it is impossible to say. The eastern base of the north side remained as well as the fourth and fifth on the south. At this point the ruin was found as it fell, with one of the columns, though broken in two, and the vaulting it carried.

In the second bay of the middle aisle were three stone coffins, which though retaining fragments of bones had all been disturbed. A portion of the tile floor was found in the middle of the fourth bay.

Round the walls were stone seats, but they do not seem to have been raised on a step in the usual manner, and nothing of them but the rough foundation along part of the south side was found.

THE PARLOUR.

Next to the chapter-house was the *auditorium* or parlour, which usually had a doorway at either end and formed a passage to the infirmary. At Stanley it was $27\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 16 feet wide, and was floored with plain dark and light-coloured tiles, checkerwise. In this chamber were found some chamfered ribs of smaller section than those of the rest of the range, which possibly indicated that it was vaulted into three bays.

THE NOVICES' LODGING.

Northward of the parlour and extending for some 166 feet was a long sub-vault constructed without a break and divided into twelve bays, with a row of

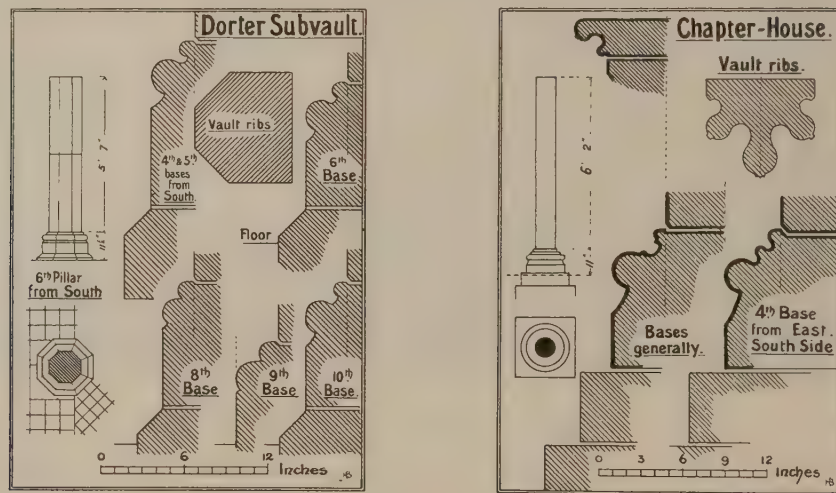


Fig. 7. Architectural details of the chapter-house and dorter subvault.

columns down the middle. The side walls had been grubbed up, except a fragment of that on the east at the ninth bay and the foundation on the west at the eleventh bay. The piece of wall on the east retained its chamfered plinth, and in connexion with it was a fragment of that of the buttress which projected opposite the ninth column.

The middle of the building, except at the north end, was found as it fell; the floors generally were tiled, and the vaulting was of simple chamfered ribs

8 inches wide. The columns down the middle were octagonal on plan, $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, and 6 feet 6 inches in height above the floor. All the bases were found except the first, tenth, and eleventh; they varied slightly in section. (Fig. 7.)

The base of the eighth column was of one stone with the square angles left on under the base mould, and the column had been set with iron wedges in cement like those of the chapter-house. At the first column was a cross wall; the second was also in a cross wall and was found as it fell; the third was bedded in another cross wall and stood to its full height to the underside of the capital. The fourth column had gone owing to a pit being dug at this point to bury rubbish, but the base remained. The fifth was found as it fell in a south-westerly direction, and round the base was a patch of tile flooring. The sixth had been removed, but the base was found bedded in another cross wall. Of the seventh, eighth, and ninth columns only their bases were left. That of the ninth was also bedded in a cross wall, beyond which all evidence of the range ceased except for the fragments of the west wall already named. It is uncertain if all the cross walls are of monastic date, though there was no direct evidence that any post-Suppression alterations had been made in this part of the building. Unfortunately in all cases the western parts of the cross walls had been grubbed up, so that no remains existed of the doors of communication that must have been there, and which would have indicated the dates of their erection.

The use of these long sub-vaults under Cistercian dorters has never been satisfactorily explained, though Mr. Hope many years ago suggested, as a result of argument by exhaustion, that they were for the use of the novices. At Clairvaux this building was certainly for that purpose in 1517, for in the account of the Queen of Sicily's visit there in that year,^a after having been shown the buildings round the great cloister:

Ce faict, ladicte dame fust menée en logis des novisses.

La novisserie est une grande salle de piere de taille voulsée, et au bout y a cheminée ou les novisses estudient leur Psaultier et autres choses.

Au costé dextre sont les selles privées sur l'eaue.

Conséquement est le dortoir desdicts novisses, voulsé comme ladicte novisserie, où y a plusieurs lits; et au bout la chambre de leur maistre, fête de menuiserie, où il y a une fenestre, par laquel il voit tout ce que font lesdicts novisses.

Après est l'anfermerie desdicts novisses, à laquelle l'on vat par une petite gallerie où il y a une belle fontaine, tirant icelle gallerie d'ung costé ez chambres où l'on met les novisses malades, qui sont du nombre de trois: deux basses et une haulte, et ont

^a Didron, *Annales Archéologiques* (1845), iii. 231.

les retraictz lesdictes chambres bien acoustrées, et à l'autre bout de ladicte gallerie est ung beau jardin pour eulx esbattre, et passe la rivière entre ledict logis et le jardin pour vyder lesdicts retraictz.

As the dorter subvault at Clairvaux was certainly used for the novices, with their infirmary under the great rere-dorter of the monks, it is only reasonable to suppose, considering the uniformity of Cistercian planning and the similar character of these buildings in all cases, that this was the general use.

THE DORTER.^a

The *dormitorium* or dorter, the sleeping place of the convent, extended from the transept of the church over the whole of the buildings of the eastern range, and was approached by a flight of steps from the cloister for use by day and had another into the church for the use of those attending the night offices.

At Stanley the dorter must have been no less than 240 feet in length. It was paved down the middle with tiles, some of which were found bedded on the top of the fallen vaulting of the buildings beneath. No indications of either stairway were found; but the day stairs must have been against the west wall, starting from the cloister in the north-east corner, since no break occurred in the sub-vault, as would have been the case if the older arrangement of putting the stairs in the middle of the eastern range had been followed.

THE REREDORTER.

On the west side of the range a deep sinking marks the position of the main drain of the abbey, and on the opposite side are sinkings for the walls of the rere-dorter, set slightly out of square with the range, but including the track of the drain along its north side. A small fragment of the north wall was found, but all else had been grubbed up.

THE WARMING-HOUSE.

The first building on the side of the cloister opposite the church was the *calefactorium* or warming-house, but not a vestige remains of walls or fireplaces. In the middle of its area was found a small length of drain leading from the direction of the cloister, probably to take the waste water from the lavatory.

^a The old English word "dorter," meaning a sleeping place, was used invariably by mediæval writers. It is derived from the old French *dortour* or *dortoir*, which comes from the Latin *dormitorium*. See *A New English Dictionary*, iii. 607, *Dortour*, *Dorter*.

THE FRATER.^a

The *refectorium*, or frater, which is the building enumerated next after the *calefactorium* in the direction for the Sunday procession, was the dining hall of the monks. Although at first the Cistercian frater seems to have stood east and west, parallel with the church, as in Benedictine, Cluniac, and Canons' houses, it became the practice about the middle of the twelfth century, for some reason at present unknown, to place it north and south, with its end against the cloister, with the warming-house on the east and the kitchen on the west.

At Stanley the frater of course followed the later arrangement, and was 110 feet long by about 30 feet wide. A small portion of the foundation of the east wall was found as well as the lower part of the northern of the two buttresses at the north-east angle, the rest of the walls being marked by sinkings in the ground. The fragment of the buttress consisted of a deep splayed course resting on a small chamfered plinth with two courses of ashlar beneath. Above the top course was a moulded string course, of which a small fragment was found, though afterwards mislaid.

THE KITCHEN.

The kitchen in the first place adjoined the frater on the west, but was subsequently altered. As already stated, there was a court, 26 feet wide, to the west of the cloister between it and the western range. This at first was closed at the north end by a wall, in which was a large pointed arch of two members springing at 18 inches above the ground and flanked externally by buttresses with chamfered plinths. Eastward of this, in the original kitchen, was a cupboard 26½ inches wide and 27 inches deep, with its sill only 14 inches above the ground. The jambs remained 23 inches in height, and at 17 inches was a wooden shelf, above which was a front, also of wood, let into slots in the jambs. Eastward of this cupboard was the jamb of a doorway to the kitchen from without.

The kitchen seems to have been altered at the end of the thirteenth century, at which time the wide arch into the court and the doorway just described were walled up. The west side of the first kitchen was pulled down and a new wall forming the east side of the later kitchen was built in its stead. In this wall was

^a The old English word "frater," meaning a dining-hall, is at least as old as the thirteenth century. It has nothing to do with *frater*, a brother, but is derived from the old French *fratier*, which comes from the Latin *refectorium*. See *A New English Dictionary*, iv. 515, *Frater*. The modern word "refectory" was apparently never used before the Suppression.

a fireplace, the hearth of which remained, and was 12 feet wide by 4 feet deep, formed of hard stone set on edge. Northward was a doorway of which the north jamb remained. By this alteration the kitchen, which now was 36 feet from east to west by 25 feet wide, was moved up to the western range, and a new room, on the site of the old kitchen, was formed between it and the frater. This room served partly as a serving place for the frater, and may also have been a scullery or a pastry house.^a In its north-east angle just inside the door from the kitchen was the support for a water tank, and the lead pipe from it was found leading towards the kitchen.

Under the middle of the floor of the later kitchen was a stone drain 9 inches wide running northward and joining, close against the north wall, another drain running westward. This seemed to form an overflow to yet another drain or waste which was taken through the north wall by an arch $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide with a wooden shutter. On the north side of the kitchen and partly against the western range was a small added chamber 13 feet from east to west by 11 feet wide.

THE CELLARER'S BUILDING.

The west side of the cloister was covered by the cellarer's building, a long range occupied by the lay brothers. At Stanley, like Kirkstall, Byland, and Beaulieu, it was divided from the cloister by a court.

This building was 148 feet long by $29\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and had been less destroyed than the rest of the work. Its east side was in line with the west end of the church.

It was divided into two apartments, with the entry to the cloister between. This entry was $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, paved with hard stone flags at a higher level than the rest of the range, and was vaulted in two bays with moulded ribs, of which one of the apex stones was found. At either end was a doorway, the eastern of which retained the inner south jamb for two courses, together with the re-entering quoins of the adjoining angle. The north and south walls also remained to the floor level.

Southward of the entry the range was occupied by a cellar 58 feet long, divided into four bays with a row of pillars down the middle, and vaulted with square ribs having narrow chamfers. The bottom course of the northernmost pillar remained in part. It was octagonal, 34 inches across, and had no base.

^a A similar chamber between the kitchen and frater has recently been found at Tintern.

The foundations only of the other pillars remained. At the south end in line with the pillars was a fragment of a wall 18 inches thick, stopped with a fair end $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the place of the first pillar. The east wall of the cellar remained for almost its whole length, and a fragment of the west wall was also found.

Northward of the entry the range formed a chamber 66 feet long. Of this the inner face of the west wall, a considerable part of the east, and the whole of the north wall remained. It was divided into five bays, with a row of columns down the middle, and vaulted with moulded ribs. The columns were circular, 14 inches in diameter, and the moulded bases of all but the northernmost remained in position. The chamber was roughly paved with tiles. At the second and fourth columns were cross walls, 30 inches thick, but whether of monastic date is uncertain. This chamber was used in the first place as the lay brothers' frater, and was served from the monks' kitchen. Externally the north end of the range had pilaster buttresses at the angles and one in the middle, but all the quoins had been removed. The east wall was unbroken by buttresses of any kind, and the outside of the west wall was so fragmentary that it is impossible to say how it was treated.

THE INFIRMARY.

Eastward of the claustral buildings was the monks' infirmary, but of this only a few odd walls were found and nothing definite. The site of the great hall was indicated by the sinkings caused by its removed walls. It was placed east and west, and measured about 118 feet in length by 54 feet in width. The remaining ground from the infirmary up to the first cross ditch was doubtless the infirmary garden, and contained the sinking caused by the removed wall of a circular dovehouse 24 feet in diameter.

BUILDING MATERIALS.

The materials used in the building were for the most part found in the near neighbourhood.

The walls were of rubble of hard stone and had freestone dressings. The hard stone is forest marble of a poor quality found near Calne. The freestone was of excellent quality of Bath oolite from Hazelbury in Box parish.

The monks had a quarry there before 1241, from which doubtless the original buildings were supplied, but in that year upon the day of St. John ante Portam

Latinam "Robert Abbot of Stanley, in Wiltshire, and the convent of the same place give to the said convent (of Lacock) one part of their quarry of Haslebury being in length 76 feet and in width that which was theirs, that they may take as much stone from the place in exchange for the other quarry that the convent (of Lacock) bought of Henry Crok."^a The exchange was doubtless due to some convenience of access or division of the lands of the two convents.

The plinths, steps, and wherever else freestone was bedded upon the rubble had the joints packed with pieces of roofing tiles.

The columns, capitals, and bases of the cloister and chapter-house were, instead of the usual Purbeck marble, made from a hard blue lias rock similar to that found at Keynsham. These were bedded with sheets of lead, which were found in connexion with the main pillars of the chapter-house.

The roofs appear to have been covered for the most part with plain flat red tiles holed for round and square pegs, two in each tile. The creasing was of the same material, but glazed, of saddle-back form, and with a scalloped cresting. A few of the ordinary stone tiles of the neighbourhood were found, but in such small quantity as to preclude the possibility of their having been used to any extent.

The floors of the principal buildings, as already noted, were laid with tiles. The chief patterns are illustrated in Plates LV. and LVI., and are of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. From fragments of similar tiles having been found by Mr. C. H. Talbot, of Lacock Abbey, at Nash Hill, on land formerly belonging to Stanley, where the Romans also had kilns, it is almost certain that these tiles were made there. The tiles are formed of a red clay of an even hardness, though in many cases much distorted by burning. The slip is of a good white clay that has burnt evenly with the tile, but the glaze is very inferior, having burnt generally to a dark yellow colour, and was badly applied. Some of the plain tiles were of a bright green and others were white.

The patterns were mostly of ordinary forms, though the fourteenth-century series of 8-inch tiles is remarkably fine.

VARIOUS OBJECTS FOUND.

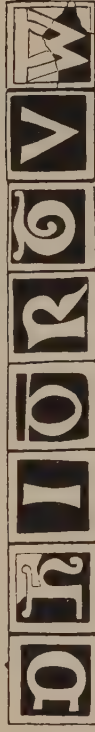
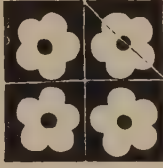
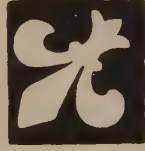
A few objects in the way of curiosities were found, of which the principal were various fragments of pottery. They occurred in large quantities near the

^a *Lacock Cartulary*, f. 30 b.



PAVING TILES FOUND AT STANLEY ABBEY, WILTS.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.



kitchen, but the pieces were so fragmentary that in no case could anything like a perfect vessel be recovered. The majority of the pieces were of a bright green glazed ware of good character. A couple of pieces of a small jug, found in the kitchen cupboard, were of a thin hard brown ware with good glazing inside and out.

Three fragments of little lead panels of open tracery of fifteenth-century work, generally supposed to be ventilators in leaded windows, were found, with another piece of a different pattern. The patterns when perfect were $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, formed of two concentric circles, the middle of which was a quatrefoil, and the space between the rings was filled with radiating panels having cinque-foiled heads. (Fig. 8.) On two of the fragments the original fixing remained.

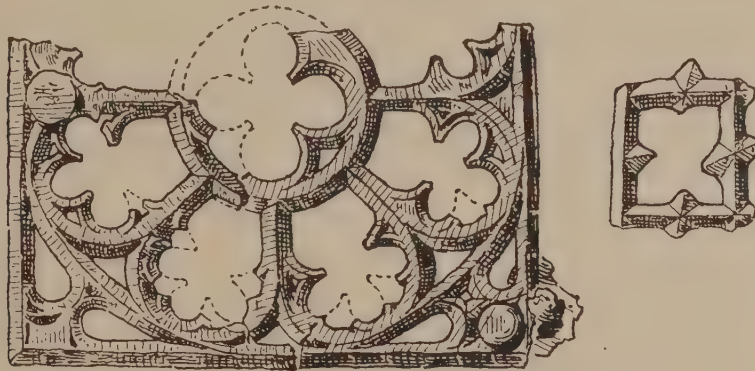


Fig. 8. Fragments of pierced lead panels found at Stanley Abbey. (†.)

It consisted of a rivet with rounded head, and a small piece of the material to which it was fixed, apparently a thin sheet of iron. This goes against the supposition that these lead panels, which have been found in other places, were ventilating quarries in lead glazing, since iron could not have occurred in that position.

A fragment of leading from a painted window was found, which shows that the monks of Stanley as elsewhere had before the Suppression broken the rule against coloured glass.

Another object found was a bronze brooch (Fig. 9) consisting of a ring $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, having a pointed tongue notched where it rested on the ring and bossed at the end where it is fastened to the ring by a hook.

A few iron nails, much corroded, were found, and also a door key $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length, and two smaller ones.



Fig. 9. Bronze buckle found at Stanley Abbey. ($\frac{1}{4}$.)

These objects, with a shilling of Queen Elizabeth and the usual halfpenny and tobacco pipe, were the only curiosities found on the site.



XXII.—*On the Funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England, with special reference to those in the Abbey Church of Westminster. By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Esq., M.A. With a note on the Westminster tradition of identification by the VERY REV. JOSEPH ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Westminster.*

Read 31st January, 1907.

THERE used to be exhibited in the Abbey Church of Westminster, distinct from the later and better known "Waxworks," a remarkable series of figures of deceased royal and noble personages, that came to be known as "the Ragged Regiment," from the condition to which most of them had been reduced by course of time.

They were the survivors of a custom, now fallen into disuse, of carrying upon the coffin in the funeral procession a representation or "picture" of the dead king or queen, arrayed in apparel befitting his or her dignity, and with the face and hands modelled in wax or carved in wood, and painted to the life.

Some little time ago these Westminster figures were taken out of the cupboard in Abbot Islip's upper chapel, in which they had for a long time been hidden away, in order that they might be photographed by our Fellow, Sir Benjamin Stone. Before replacing them it was thought desirable that they should be examined and reported on, and application was accordingly made to the Dean and Chapter to allow them to be exhibited at a meeting of the Society. As this was deemed unadvisable owing to the dilapidated state of the figures, a Special Committee, consisting of the members of the Executive Committee, together with Viscount Dillon, Mr. Seymour Lucas, R.A., Sir Richard Holmes, and Mr. Lionel H. Cust, was appointed to examine and report upon them.

By the courtesy of the Dean and Chapter every facility was given to the Committee, which paid several visits to Westminster and made a careful investigation of the figures. A series of descriptive notes of them were also drawn up, with some interesting extracts relating to them from the public records, for which the Committee was indebted to Lord Dillon.

The original idea was that the results of the Committee's labours should be embodied in a Report to the Council, the drawing up of which was deputed to

Mr. Micklethwaite and your Assistant Secretary, but the lamented death of the former has necessitated a modification of the first scheme, of which the paper we have the honour of laying before you is the outcome.

The question as to when the custom of carrying such figures began in England can best be answered by reviewing the circumstances of the death and burial, first of our kings and queens, and then of those of their consorts; and inasmuch as the present abbey church of Westminster was founded by King Edward the Confessor, whose body still rests within it, the inquiry may fitly begin with him.

King Edward died at Westminster on 5th January, 1065-6, and was buried the following day on the Feast of the Epiphany in the newly hallowed abbey church of St. Peter before the high altar. No better or earlier authority can be cited as to the king's death and burial than the famous stitchwork of Bayeux. This shows us, first, the king on his death-bed, with the inscription

HIC EADWARDVS REX IN LECTO ALLOQUITVR FIDELES;

secondly, his dead body being laid out under the superintendence of Archbishop Stigand, with the inscription

ET HIC DEFUNCTVS EST;

and thirdly, the king's body borne on a bier and covered by a pall with the explanatory legend

HIC PORTATVR : CORPVS : EADWARDI : REGIS : AD : ECCLESIAM : STI PETRI APLI.

The nearly contemporary Life of King Edward among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum ^a simply says of the funeral:

Parantur illa funebria regio, ut decebat, sumptu et honore, et cum omnium infinito mœrore.^b

The dead king was certainly buried in royal apparel, for the inventory of the vestry of the abbey taken in 1388 specifies three copes which were made out of certain cloths removed from the king's coffin in 1163:

Item tres cape Sancti Edwardi in quibus fuerat sepultus unde prima glaucei coloris cum talentis. Secunda rubea cum lunis. Tercia cum aquilis.^c

Concerning the burial of King Edward's successor, Harold, after his death

^a MS. 526.

^b *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series 3), 434.

^c *Archæologia*, lii. 257.

on the battlefield near Hastings, there are two accounts: the one, that his body was wrapped in a purple cloth and carried to the Conqueror's camp by the sea, where it was honourably buried on the shore by William Malet under a stone with his name and title;^a the other that the corpse was taken to Waltham, and laid to rest in the minster which Harold had built there.^b For each of these

^a 573 "Heraldi corpus collegit dilaceratum,
Collectum textit sindone purpurea;
Detulit et secum repetens sua castra marina,
Expleat ut solitas funeris exequias.
Heraldi mater, nimio constricta dolore,
Misit adusque Ducem, postulat et precibus,
Orbatæ miseræ natis tribus, et viduatæ,
580 Pro tribus uni[u]s reddat ut ossa sibi;
Si placet, aut corpus puro præponderet auro.
Sed Dux iratus prorsus utrumque negat:

Jurans quod potius præsentis littora portus
Illi committet aggere sub lapidum.
Ergo velut fuerat testatus, rupis in alto
Præcepit claudi vertice corpus humi.
Extemplo quidam, partim Normannus et Anglus,
Compater Heraldi, jussa libentur agit:
Corpus enim Regis cito sustulit et sepelivit,
590 Imponens lapidem, scripsit et in titulo:
*Per mandata Ducis, Rex hic Heralde quiescis
Ut custos maneat litoris et pelagi."*
Guy of Amiens, *De Bello Normannico*.

"Heraldus quibusdam signis est, non facie, recognitus, et in castra ducis delatus, ac ad tumultandum prope littus maris, quod diu cum armis servaverat, Guillelmo agnomine Maletto victoris jussu traditur."

Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. iii. (ed. Prevost, 1840), ii. 151.

^b "Ipse carens omni decore quibusdam signis, nequaquam facie, recognitus est, et in castra Ducis delatus, qui tumultandum eum Guillelmo agnomine Maletto concessit, non matri pro corpore dilectæ prolis auri par pondus offerenti. Scivit enim non decere tali commercio aurum accipi. Æstimavit indignum fore ad matris libitum sepeliri, cujus ob nimiam cupiditatem inseputi remanerent innumerabiles. Dictum est illudendo, oportere situm esse custodem litoris et pelagi, quæ cum armis ante vesanus insedit. Nos tibi, Heralde, non insultamus, sed cum pio victore tuam ruinam lach[r]ymato miseramur et plangimus te. Vicisti digno te proventu, ad meritum tuum et in cruore jacuisti, et in littoreo tumultu jaces, et posthumæ generationi tam Anglorum quam Normannorum abominabilis eris."—William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi Ducis Normannorum et Regis Anglorum*, in Duchesne's *Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui* (Paris, 1619), 204.

Li Reis Heraut fu emportez 14093
E à Varham fu enterrez
Maiz jo ne sai ki l'emporte
Ne jo ne sui ki l'enterra.

Wace, *Roman de Rou*.

§ "Ille, ubi perfecta victoria potitus est, suos sepeliendos mirifice curavit; hostibus quoque si qui vellent, idem exequendi licentiam præbuit. Corpus Haroldi matri repetenti sine pretio misit, licet illa multum per legatos obtulisset; acceptum itaque apud Waltham sepelivit, quam ipse ecclesiam, ex proprio constructam in honore sanctæ Crucis, canonicis impleverat."—William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, lib. iii. (ed. Stubbs, Rolls Series 90) ii. 306, 307.

stories there is such good evidence that probably both are right, and the burial on the beach may well have been followed by a later translation to Waltham. Of this second burial there are no further details than the statement of the Waltham chronicler, that the body was borne thither *cum magno honore*.^a

On the death of William the Conqueror, which took place at Rouen on 9th September, 1087, the nobles and royal officers who had kept watch over the dying king rode away and left his dead body to its fate. Their servants thereupon despoiled the royal chamber of all they could, arms, vessels, clothes and linen, and all the furniture, leaving the king's body almost naked on the floor, where it lay for a whole day. The archbishop of Rouen ordered the body to be borne to Caen and buried in the church of St. Stephen, which William had founded.

After sundry untoward events this was done, and it is clear from the very detailed account of the burial given by Orderic that the king's body was borne upon a bier and thrust into a stone coffin which was too small for it, with results that even the cloud of incense about the grave failed to mitigate.^b

The king's grave was opened in 1522 to gratify the curiosity of a cardinal, an archbishop, and a Roman bishop, "when the body was found still to all appearance in the condition in which it had been buried in the tomb." It was again opened, this time to be utterly destroyed, by the Calvinists in 1562, and the contents are thus described by an eye-witness, M. Charles de Bourgueville, Sieur de Bras :

Les ossemens de ce Roy, qui furent trouvez dedans son Tombeau, estoient couverts d'un Candal ou Taffetas rouge, d'estaint, comme la couleur en estoit apparente. Et estoient

^a The anonymous Waltham chronicler, a canon of the abbey who wrote about 1180, describes how two of the canons of Harold's college sought the body of Harold on the battlefield, and eventually found it by the aid of the king's mistress, Edith Swanneshals:

"Quam cum adduxisset Osegodus, et inter strages mortuorum pluribus indiciis ipsa corpus regis Haroldi designasset, aptatum feretro, multis heroum Normanniæ comitatus honorem corpori exhibentibus, usque ad Pontem Belli qui nunc dicitur, ab ipsis fratribus, et multa supervenientium copiositate Anglorum, qui audierant eorum imminens excidium, quia numquam fuit Anglis cognata Normannorum societas, cum magno honore corpus Waltham deductum sepelierunt, ubi usque hodie . . . pro certo quiescit Walthamiæ." W. Stubbs, *The Foundation of Waltham Abbey* (Oxford and London, 1861), 30.

^b "Expleta missa, cum jam sarcophagum in terra locatum esset, sed corpus adhuc in feretro jaceret, magnus Gislebertus, Ebroicensis episcopus, in pulpitu ascendit, et prolixam locutionem de magnificentia defuncti principis eloquenter protelavit . . . Porro, dum corpus in sarcophagum mitteretur, et violenter, quia vas per imprudentiam cæmentariorum breve structum erat, complicare-

encores inherantes à la teste, les Maschoires, et plusieurs dents, et les autres ossements, tant des jambes, cuisses, que des bras, fort longs: lesquels ossementz je fis bailler à Dom frere Michel de Cemalle, l'un des Religieux, et Bailly de ladite Abbaye, par un nommé François de Gron, marchand du Bourg l'Abbé, l'un de ces desmollisseurs presence de Domp Gilles le Mercier, et d'un autre nommé Radul, et quelques autres Religieux, etc.^a

Of the death or murder of King William II. (Rufus) in the New Forest, on 2nd August, 1100, all that is certainly known is told in the short statement of the English Chronicle :

and þær æfter on morgen æfter hlam mæsse dæge weard se cyng Willelm on huntnode fram his anan men mid anre fla of sceoten.^b

"His own men" quickly dispersed, and William of Malmesbury says that a few rustics carried the body, laid in a wagon, to Winchester, with the blood dripping in a wavy line all the way.^c Orderic adds that a multitude of clerks, monks, citizens, and others met the king's corpse, and for reverence of the royal dignity buried it quickly in the Old Minster of St. Peter.^d But the clergy, bearing in mind the king's sordid life and fearful end, thought him unworthy of absolution, so no bells were sounded nor the office for the dead said over him.

The so-called tomb of the king now in the quire of Winchester, a recent opening of which is described in our *Archæologia*,^e is beyond question that of bishop Henry de Blois, who was buried in the middle of the presbytery, where the tomb had stood undisturbed until 1868. The king's tomb, whatever it was, was crushed by the fall of the steeple in 1107, and all that remains of his bones now rests in one of the relic chests on the north side of the presbytery.

King Henry I. died in the castle of Lions on 1st December, 1135, and on

tur, pinguissimus venter crepuit, et intolerabilis foetor circum astantes personas et reliquum vulgus implevit. Fumus thuris, aliorumque aromatum, de thuribulis copiose ascendebat; sed teterrimum putorem excludere non prævalebat. Sacerdotes itaque festinabant exequias perficere, et actutum sua cum pavore mappalia repetere." Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. vii. (Ed. A. le Prevost, Paris, 1845), iii. 251-254.

^a Charles de Bourgueville, sieur du lieu, de Bras, et de Brucourt, *Les Recherches et Antiquitez de la Ville et Université de Caen* (Caen, 1588), 171, 172.

^b Ed. Earle and Plummer (Oxford, 1892), i. 235.

^c "Pauci rusticanorum cadaver, in rheda caballaria compositum, Wintoniam in episcopatum devexere, cruore undatim per totam viam stillante." William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, lib. iv. (Rolls Series 90), ii. 379.

^d Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. 10 (ed. A. le Prevost), iv. 89.

^e Vol. xlii. 309-321.

the following day, according to Orderic,^a his body was carried to Rouen, attended by an escort of 20,000 men, and received into the metropolitan church of Our Lady. There at night, "in a certain recess of the great church," says William of Malmesbury, the body was disemboweled and roughly embalmed, and then taken on to Caen, where it lay for several weeks in the abbey church of St. Stephen waiting for a fair wind to bring it to England. This came soon after Christmas, and the royal corpse was then brought over in a ship and buried in the abbey church of Reading.

William of Malmesbury^b gives no further details than the disemboweling, and the burial of the entrails in the church of St. Mary de Pratis, near Rouen. Orderic says the gross body of the king was opened by a skilful butcher and preserved with fragrant balsam.

A far more detailed account of the treatment of the king's corpse is given by Henry of Huntingdon, which had better be given in the forcible language of the original :^c

Corpus autem regis Henrici adhuc insepultum erat in Normannia. Rex namque Henricus prima die Decembris obierat; cujus corpus allatum est Rothomagum, et ibi viscera ejus et cerebrum et oculi consepulta sunt. Reliquum autem corpus cultellis circumquaque dissectum et multo sale aspersum coriis taurinis reconditum est, causa fœtoris evitandi, qui multus et infinitus jam circumstantes inficiebat. Unde et ipse qui magno pretio conductus securi caput ejus diffiderat, ut fœtidissimum cerebrum extraheret, quamvis linteaminibus caput suum obvolvisset, mortuus tamen ea causa pretio male gavisus est.

After the removal of the body to St. Stephen's church at Caen the arch-deacon says :

quamvis multo sale repletum esset et multis coriis reconditum, tamen continue ex corpore niger humor et horribilis coria pertransiens decurrebat, et vasis sub feretro susceptus a ministris horrore fatiscens abjiciebatur.

This gruesome account of the imperfect attempt to embalm King Henry's body is not without interest in the present inquiry, as showing, first that the corpse was, as in King Edward's case, carried uncoffined on a bier, and secondly that it was not thought necessary to expose the face, since in this instance the body was completely encased in bulls' hides, and, it is presumed, further covered by a pall or hersecloth.

^a Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, x. § 19 (ed. A. le Prevost), v. 51.

^b William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella* (Rolls Series 90), ii. 537.

^c *Henrici Archidiaconi Huntendunensis Historia Anglorum* (Rolls Series 74), 256, 257.

King Stephen ended his turbulent reign on 25th October, 1154, in the priory of St. Martin at Dover, whence his body was carried first to Canterbury, and then to Faversham, where it was buried by the side of his wife and his son in the church of the monastery of the Holy Saviour which he had founded.

No details of his funeral seem to have been recorded by any of the historians of his time, and the exact spot where he was buried is also unknown.

King Henry II. died at Chinon on 6th July, 1189.

According to the chronicle known as that of Benedict of Peterborough: ^a

On the morrow of his death, when he was carried to be buried clothed in royal apparel, wearing a golden crown on his head, and having gloves on his hands and a golden ring on his finger, a sceptre in his hand, footgear woven with gold, and spurs on his feet, girt with a sword, he lay having his face uncovered.

On hearing of the king's death, his son Count Richard hastened to meet the corpse, but on his approach the blood gushed from the nostrils, as if the father's spirit were indignant at his coming. The weeping son nevertheless accompanied the corpse to Fontevraud, where it was buried, "*juxta magnificentiam regiam*," says William of Newburgh.

The apparently novel fact of the king's body lying on the bier invested with the royal ornaments and with the face uncovered was also thought worthy of record by Matthew Paris,^b and there can be no doubt whatever that the effigy still preserved at Fontevraud actually represents the dead king as he was carried to his burial; the only difference being that the sword wherewith he is said to have been girded is laid by his side upon the bier. The robes in which he is shown arrayed are those that were put upon him at his coronation.

It may be of interest also to refer to the accounts of the burial of the younger King Henry, eldest son of King Henry II., who was crowned in his father's lifetime, but died at Martel on 11th June, 1183.

The Chronicle of Benedict says that as soon as he was dead, his servants took out his bowels and his brain, and after sprinkling the body with much salt,

^a "In crastino autem obitus illius, cum portaretur ad sepeliendum vestitus regio apparatu, gestans coronam auream in capite, et habens chirothecas [in] manus et annulum aureum in digito, et sceptrum in manu, et calceamenta auro texta, et calcaria in pedibus, cinctus gladio, jacebat habens vultum discoopertum." *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* (Rolls Series 49), ii. 71.

^b *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series 57), ii. 344.

wrapped it in lead and bulls' hides, so that they might carry it to Rouen, where young Henry had desired to be buried. On its way thither the royal corpse came to Le Mans, where the bishop and people insisted on keeping it, and honourably buried it in the metropolitan church of St. Julian. Owing, however, to a quarrel between the people of Rouen and those of Le Mans about the place of burial, the body was taken up, and by command of King Henry finally buried in the church of Our Lady at Rouen on 22nd July.^a

Much the same account, including that of the rude embalming, is given by Roger of Howden.^b

Another contemporary chronicler, Ralph de Diceto, the dean of St. Paul's, though recording the young king's death, says nothing about the embalming, but gives the further interesting information that the body of the king lay upon a bier, carefully vested in the linen vestments anointed with cream which he had at his consecration, and so was carried upon the shoulders of his companions to Le Mans.^c Matthew Paris also thought it worth while to record the same fact about the linen vestments.^d

The younger King Henry is the first who is stated to have been buried in lead.^e

King Richard I. died at Chaluz, in Limousin, on 6th April, 1199, of the effects of an arrow wound received some twelve days before. By his own wish his body was buried at his father's feet at Fontevraud, his "unconquerable heart" (as Matthew Paris calls it) at Rouen, and his bowels at Chaluz as a gift to the Pictavians. No account of the funeral seems to have been chronicled, but the king's body was no doubt treated as he ordered, and finally buried at Fontevraud.

The effigy there preserved represents, like that of his father, the royal corpse laid out upon a bier, with the crown and coronation ornaments in which he was carried to his burial; and it differs in a decided way from the effigy discovered

^a *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* (Rolls Series 49), i. 301, 303, 304.

^b *Chronica Rogeri de Hoveden* (Rolls Series 51), ii. 280.

^c "Corpus regis, quas habuit in sua consecratione lineis vestibus crismate delibutis diligentius involutum, in libitina reponitur, et impositum humeris commilitonum suorum per vicos, per castella, per civitates, concurrentibus undique populis, deportatur, quousque Cenomannis intraret, et in choro beati Juliani deponeretur." Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum* (Rolls Series 68), ii. 20.

^d *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series 57), ii. 319.

^e The Archdeacon of Wells says he was buried at Rouen *in loculo stanneo*. Thomas Agnellus, *De morte et sepultura Henrici Regis Junioris* (Rolls Series 66), 272.

under the pavement at Rouen in 1838,^a with the leaden coffer and a silver plate inscribed :

+ HIC : ITCET : COR : RICARDI : REGIS : ANGLORVM :

which represents the king alive, with his feet resting against a lion. That Richard was actually buried in his coronation robes is proved by an entry in the *Annals of Winchester* :

Scitu quidem dignum est quod dictus rex sepultus est cum eadem corona et cæteris insignibus regalibus, quibus præcedenti quinto anno coronatus et infulatus fuerat apud Wintoniam.^b

The reference here is to the king's *second* crowning in 1194.

King John ended his stormy reign in Newark Castle on 19th October, 1216, and according to Roger of Wendover his body adorned in royal fashion was carried to Worcester and honourably buried in the cathedral church there by the bishop of the place. This was in accordance with the king's will, which directs that his body be buried in the church of St. Mary and St. Wulstan of Worcester. Matthew Paris says in addition that the abbot of Croxton, a very skilful physician who had attended the king in his last illness, made an anatomy of the body, that it might be the more decently carried, and having copiously sprinkled the viscera with salt, transported them to his own house (*i.e.* Croxton Abbey), and there honourably buried them. The Coggeshall chronicler states that the king's "disemboweled body" was carried to Worcester, but does not say what became of the internal parts.

The vigorous English effigy of the king, in Purbeck marble, now disfigured by the coating of gold-leaf applied by the Office of Works in 1873, represents him in his coronation vestments: a tunic, a girded dalmatic, and mantle, with the crown on his head, jewelled gloves on his hands, and the buskins, sandals, and spurs on his feet. In his right hand he has the remains of the sceptre and in the left a naked sword. On either side of the head is a bishop with a censer, perhaps St. Wulstan and St. Oswald, and beneath the feet a couchant lion. The neck-band and cuffs of the dalmatic, together with the crown, gloves, belt, and sword, and the mitres, etc. of the bishops, have sockets for the imitation jewels with which they were adorned.

In July, 1797, the king's tomb and coffin were opened and examined. From an account published shortly after by Mr. Valentine Green, "the dress in which the body of the king was found appears also to have been similar to that in which

^a *Archæologia*, xxix. 202-216, and plates xx, xxi.

^b *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series 36), ii. 71.

his figure is represented on the tomb, excepting the gloves on its hands and the crown on its head, which on the skull in the coffin was found to be the celebrated monk's cowl, in which he is recorded to be buried, as a passport through the regions of purgatory."^a

The contents of the coffin were only superficially examined, but the body was certainly clothed as on the effigy, and remains of the buskins, etc. were left upon the feet. Down the left side, in a leather scabbard, was a sword which had been grasped by the left hand. There can be no doubt therefore that the effigy represents the king in the royal fashion in which he was carried to his burial.

The only contemporary writer who seems to have left any detailed account of the burial of King Henry III. is the canon of Oseney, Thomas Wykes. After noting the death of the king, which took place at Westminster on Wednesday, the 16th November, 1272, he continues :

On the following Sunday, namely on the feast of the most blessed king and martyr Edmund, he was buried with the honour that was due in that very noble church of Westminster which with sumptuous and incomparable work he had built from the foundations, the great men of the kingdom being at the expense of the accustomed rites; indeed his body, adorned with the most precious robes and the royal crown, as was seemly, in the opinion of those taking part, when it was borne to the tomb in a portable coffin by the more noble persons of the kingdom chosen for this duty, shone out with greater splendour of glory when dead than it had before appeared when living; because it happened, by a wonderful but notable accident, that in the same place in which the most blessed king and confessor Edward had been buried, and rested for many years, before his relics were translated to the shrine, the body of King Henry, who was wont while living to love St. Edward before all the saints and to venerate him with a fuller devotion, not ignobly placed, was consigned to its earthly sepulchre."^b

^a Valentine Green, *An account of the discovery of the body of King John, in the cathedral church of Worcester, July 17th, 1797* (London and Worcester, 1797), 4.

^b "Dominica proxima sequente, videlicet in festo beatissimi regis et martyris Edmundi, in nobilissima basilica Westmonasterii, quam opere sumptuoso et incomparabili a fundamentis extruxerat, regni magnatibus exequias debitas impendentibus, cum ea qua decuit honorificentia tumulatus: sane corpus ipsius pretiosissimis indumentis et diademate regio, prout decuit, adornatum, omni assistantium iudicio, cum a nobilioribus regni ad hoc officium præelectis in locello portatili deferretur ad tumulum, ampliori splendore decoris effulgebat mortuum, quam prius dum vixerat appareret; siquidem eventu miro sed notabili contigit, quod in eodem loco quo beatissimus rex et confessor Edwardus sepultus extiterat, et annis plurimis, priusquam ipsius reliquæ translatae fuissent in scrinium requievit, corpus regis Henrici, qui eundem Sanctum Edwardum dum vixit præ cunctis sanctis diligere consuevit et ampliori devotione venerari, non ignobiliter collocatum, humanæ traditum est sepulture." *Chronicon Thomæ Wykes in Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series 36), iv. 252.

In other words, King Henry was buried before the high altar in the same grave in which the Confessor's body had been laid in 1065. This was in accordance with the arrangement the king had made so long before as 1230, by a charter now among the Abbey archives.

In connexion with Wykes's account of the funeral several points arise. In the first place he mentions what was clearly a new departure, that the king's body was borne to the grave in a coffin, *in locello portatili*. That *locellus* implies a receptacle of some kind and not an open bier is shown by Wykes's previous reference to the translation by King Henry of the body of the Confessor in 1269, "because he could no longer endure his venerable relics lying *locello quodam humili*." But if King Henry's corpse was laid in a coffin, how could it be seen to be adorned with precious robes and the royal crown?

There is no need to question the statement of the chronicler, since the body of King Henry actually lies at this moment in the wooden coffin in which he was buried, in the marble tomb to which it was afterwards removed by his son. This was fully proved in November, 1871, when the tomb was opened in the presence of the late Dean Stanley and several other Fellows of this Society (all now dead) while the bronze effigy had been removed to be cleaned.^a

The explanation of the difficulty may perhaps be found in an account on the Patent Roll 4 Edward I. under date 20th January, 1275-6, of various sums paid on the king's behalf while he was yet abroad. Among the items there entered are:

. Item pro trescentis libris Cere ad faciendam unam ymaginem pro nobis sex libras et duodecim solidos precij Centum et quadraginta quatuor solidorum quodlibet Centenarum. [= £6 12s.]

Item magistro Roberto de Beverlaco pro factura dicte ymaginis sexaginta sex solidos et octo denarios sterlingorum.^b [= 66s. 8d.]

Now it is not easy to see for what purpose an image involving the use of 300 lbs. of wax could have been made during King Edward's absence, but it seems reasonable to suppose, although the fact is not stated, that it was for the funeral procession of King Henry. If that were so, King Henry's was the first royal funeral in this country in which the corpse was withdrawn from public gaze, and represented merely by an image arrayed in the royal ornaments.

^a See the paper by the late Dean Stanley, "On an Examination of the Tombs of Richard II. and Henry III. in Westminster Abbey," in *Archaeologia*, xlv. 317-322.

^b Patent Roll 4 Edward I. [95], m. 32. The price of the wax should be 44s. a hundred lbs. and not as erroneously entered by the scribe.

King Henry's body was probably embalmed in some way, for the *Annales Londonienses* aver that at its translation into the new tomb in 1290 it was 'integrum cum barba prolixa,'"^a and in accordance with his wish his heart was taken out to be buried in the abbey church of Fontevraud. It remained, however, at Westminster for nineteen years, until December, 1291, when it was formally handed over to the Abbess of Fontevraud who happened then to be in England.^b

King Edward I. died at Burgh-on-Sands on Friday, 7th July, 1307.

The body was embalmed in some way, closely enveloped in waxed cloth, and conveyed by slow stages to the abbey church of Waltham, where it remained from 4th August until the latter end of October.

The fact of the embalming is recorded in the contemporary rhyming chronicle of Peter Langtoft, the canon of Bridlington :

Maintenant après sa mort estait publye,
 Translatez est le corps par barnez e par clergie
 A Waltham près de Loundres, sa demene abbeye,
 Quatre mais enters sollempnement servye.
 Baumez juste sur bere.^c

On the removal of the body from Waltham it rested one night in the church of the Holy Trinity in London, the next in St. Paul's, and on the 27th in the abbey church of Westminster, where on the morrow, being the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, it was buried behind the high altar to the north of St. Edward's shrine at the head of the tomb of King Henry III.

^a *Annales Londonienses* (Rolls Series 76), i. 98.

^b De corde Regis Henrici, liberato Abbatissæ Fontis Ebroldi, ad sepeliendum in Monasterio suo.

Rex omnibus ad quos, etc. salutem. Quia pro certo intelleximus quod celebris memorie Dominus Henricus quondam Rex Anglie pater noster ipso dudum existente apud Monasterium Fontis Ebroldi cor suum post ejus decessum eidem Monasterio promisit. Et dilecta nobis in Christo Abbatissa Monasterii predicti nuper in Angliam accedens cor illud sibi juxta promissionem predictam petiit liberari. Dilectus nobis in Christo Walterus Abbas Westmonasterii cor predictum integrum in presencia venerabilium patrum A. Dunelmensis et R. Bathoniensis et Wellensis Episcoporum et dilectorum et fidelium nostrorum Edmundi fratris nostri et Willelmi de Valentia avunculi nostri et aliorum fidelium nostrorum plurimorum die Lune proximo ante festum beate Lucie virginis anno Regni nostri vicesimo in ecclesia Westmonasterii predictæ Abbatisse de voluntate et precepto nostro liberavit ad predictum Monasterium Fontis Ebroldi deferendum et sepeliendum in eodem. In cujus etc. Teste Rege apud London tertio die Decembris.

Patent Roll 20 Edward I. m. 28. [Rymer, *Fœdera* (ed. 1727), ii. 533.]

^c Rolls Series 47, ii. 380, 382.

The several accounts of King Edward's funeral, beyond stating that it was conducted with all due ceremony, give no details of interest, and none makes any reference to the appearance of the coffin or to any image being carried outside it. It should, however, be noted that Robert of Bourn in his translation of Peter Langtoft's chronicle has :

Fro Waltham beforsaid to Westmynster þei him brouht,
Biside his fadere is laid in a toumbe wele wrouht.
Of marble is þe stone, & putreied þer he lies.^a

The French original, however, merely says :

En près de son linage ore est le corps sevelye,
A Westmouster, en toumbe de marbre ben polye.^b

On 2nd May, 1774, the tomb of the king was opened and examined in the presence of the Dean and two of the Prebendaries and certain Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries. From the detailed account published in *Archaeologia*^c it appears that the king's body rests within a Purbeck marble coffin, arrayed in the coronation ornaments, with the crown and the two sceptres. The body was disturbed as little as possible, but "its innermost covering seemed to have been a very fine linen cerecloth, dressed close to every part of the body, and superinduced with such accuracy and exactness, that the fingers and thumbs of both the hands had each of them a separate and distinct envelope of that material. The face, which had a similar covering closely fitted thereto, retained its exact form, although part of the flesh appeared to be somewhat wasted."^d The object of the investigation in question was to test the truth of an oft-repeated statement that the wax wrappings of the king's body had been constantly renewed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in accordance with the yearly warrants that occur from 1339 downwards. Even so recent a work as the Syllabus to Rymer's *Fœdera* states more than once that the order is for the renewing of "the wax which covers the body." But the warrants themselves invariably describe it as *ceram circa corpus*. As a matter of fact therefore the wax was not provided for anything within the coffin, which had certainly remained inviolate from 1272 until 1774, as the account of its contents proves, but for the numerous wax lights that were burnt around the tomb on every successive anniversary of King Edward's death; and this is the conclusion arrived at by Sir Joseph Ayloffe in his paper in *Archaeologia*. The wax moreover had nothing to do with any funeral effigy that may have been laid upon the king's tomb.

^a Ed. Hearne, ii. 341.

^c *Archaeologia*, iii. 376-413.

^b Rolls Series 47, ii. 382.

^d *Ibid.* 381.

Sir Joseph Ayloffe thus concludes his very interesting account :

I have already mentioned, that, previous to the removal of the top stone of king Edward's tomb, the dean of Westminster, who was present from the opening to the shutting it up, had taken every possible precaution that no damage might be done either to the royal body, or its sarcophagus. The like vigilance was observed by him during the time the coffin continued open : so that the corpse did not receive the least violation or injury ; neither was it despoiled of any of its vestments, regalia, or ornaments. On the contrary, all things were suffered to remain in the same condition, situation, and place, wherein they were found. After the spectators had taken a sufficient view, the top of the coffin, and the covering-stone of the tomb, were restored to their proper places, and fastened down by a strong cement of terrice before the dean retired from the chapel.^a

Whatever may have been the cause of the death of King Edward II. in Berkeley Castle on the 21st September, 1327, there can be no doubt whatever that he was buried publicly with proper solemnity, and with all the honour due to his exalted rank, in the abbey church of St. Peter at Gloucester. This interesting fact was brought to the notice of the Society in 1886 by Mr. Stuart Moore, in a paper on "Documents relating to the Death and Burial of King Edward II.,"^b but as the details of the funeral were beyond the scope of his paper he only briefly refers to them. The king's body was disemboweled and embalmed, but not taken to Gloucester until 21st October, and apparently it was not actually buried until 20th December. There was thus ample time for the elaborate preparations recorded in the wardrobe accounts of Thomas of Ousefleet (Useflete).^c

It would take too long now to rehearse all these, which can later on appear in print, and it must suffice to quote only those that bear directly on this paper. Of these the most important is that which proves that a wooden effigy of the king was placed upon his coffin :

^a *Ibid.* 413. This plain and straightforward account is thus paraphrased by a recent and still-living writer: "After having satisfied themselves as to the state of the body, the cerements, and the stature, the learned representatives of the Society of Antiquaries of that day, under a puerile pretence of preserving the royal remains from future desecration, barbarously embedded body, vestures, crown, and sceptre in pitch. . . . After this the coffin and tomb were again closed. This time the top slab being cemented on to the sides. The Dean remained throughout the whole investigation and reclosing, to see that no disrespectful act, nor any damage should occur to the body of Edward, *which he embedded in pitch.*" J. C. Wall, *The Tombs of the Kings of England* (London, 1891), 265, 266.

^b *Archæologia*, l. 215-226.

^c P. R. O. Accounts, etc. (Exchequer, K.R.), 383:3.

Item cuidam Magistro cindenti et formanti quamdam ymaginem de ligno ad similitudinem dicti domini Regis E[dwardi] deffuncti ex convencione in grosso, xl^a.

Item in una Corona de Cupro pro eadem ymagine empta cum factura et deauracione ejusdem, vij^a viij^d.

A sum of (apparently) 4s. 3d. was also paid :

Pro consutura vestimentorum pro corpore ejusdem Regis factorum in quibus sepeliebatur. simul cum uno coverchief Alemayñ et iij. quarterijs de [panno lineo ?] pro uno auriculari inde faciendo ad ponendum sub capite ejusdem Regis, emptis de Waltero Chapman.

In another account ^a Thomas of Ousefleet reckons

de uno mantello, j tunicula, j dalmaticula, j pari Cirotecarum, j zona, j pari caligarum, j pari sotularium. j pari calcarium receptis de liberatura dominorum Johannis Darcy Militis Willelmi de Zouche et Nicholai de Falle clerici H. episcopi Lincolñ tunc Thesaurarii Anglie de Thesauro Regis pro sepultura Regis Edwardi patris Regis hujus et que idem Rex pater utebatur die Coronacionis sue.

Et de j tunica. j camisia. j pillio. et j tena receptis de eisdem militibus et clerico. In quibus idem Rex pater fuit unctus die Coronacionis sue.

Idem computat in expensis factis super corpus predicti Regis patris defuncti apud Gloucestriam dicto die sepulture et super idem corpus dimissis j par cirotecarum. j tunicam. j camisiam et j tenam, etc.

From this it is clear that, like the younger King Henry in 1183, King Edward II. was buried in the linen coif (*tena*), the sleeveless shirt (*camisia*), the tunic (*tunica*), and the gloves which he wore at his anointing. Owing probably to the rigidity of the embalmed body the tunic and shirt had to be slit open and sewn together again. The other coronation ornaments, viz. the tunic, dalmatic, girdle, and mantle, and the buskins, sandals, and spurs, and the cap of estate, together with another crown of silver-gilt, a sceptre, a regal, two fleurons of silver-gilt, and a ring of silver-gilt with a great doublet, were apparently used to adorn the wooden image in the likeness of the king, since they were afterwards returned to the officers of the great wardrobe who issued them for the funeral.

King Edward III. died at Sheen on 21st June, 1377.

No detailed description of his funeral seems to have been chronicled, but it is evident from the expenses set out in the Wardrobe Account ^b that it was carried out with all the customary ceremony. Among these expenses are several which bear directly upon the subject of this paper.

^a P. R. O. Wardrobe Accounts, Enrolments of Exchequer, L.T.R. Roll 3, m. 7.

^b P. R. O. "Computus Ricardi de Beverlei," Accounts, etc. (Exchequer K.R.), Bundle 398/9.

Immediately after the king's death his body was embalmed, and the large sum of £21 was paid :

Rogero Chaundeler civi Londoñ pro labore suo et pro diversis custubus per ipsum factis ad custodiendum corpus Regis a putrefacione cum balsamo et aliis unguentis et oleis.

A further sum of £22 4s. 11d. was paid :

Stephano Hadley pro factura unius ymaginis ad similitudinem Regis uno Sceptro una pila una cruce cum crucifixo argentea deaurata et aliis diversis custubus per ipsum factis circa preparacionem corporis ejusdem domini Regis ante diem sepulture.

What the "divers costs" were for is a matter of conjecture, but probably for the coffin, etc. There can, however, be little doubt that the "image in likeness of a king" was that which was borne upon the coffin in its passage from Sheen to London. This seems to have taken place at night, for £27 15s. 4d. were paid

pauperibus nigris tunicis vestitis portantibus torcheos accensos circa corpus ejusdem domini Regis inter Shene et Westmonasterium per tres dies de Elemosina ejusdem domini Regis.

And the large sum of £227 15s. 11½d. was spent

In precio vijm^l dxj. lb. cere expenditis in m^l vij^c. torches xv. cereis magnis xij. morteriis accensis circa corpus ejusdem domini Regis inter Shene et Westmonasterium per tres dies precium libre vj^d ob.

The body seems first to have been taken to St. Paul's, for £11 were paid

Johanni Pope et Willelmo Campion candelariis Londoñ pro una hercia erecta circa corpus ejusdem domini Regis in ecclesia Cathedrali Sancti Pauli Londoñ quarto die Julij ex certa convencionem secum facta cum cariagio ejusdem hercie.

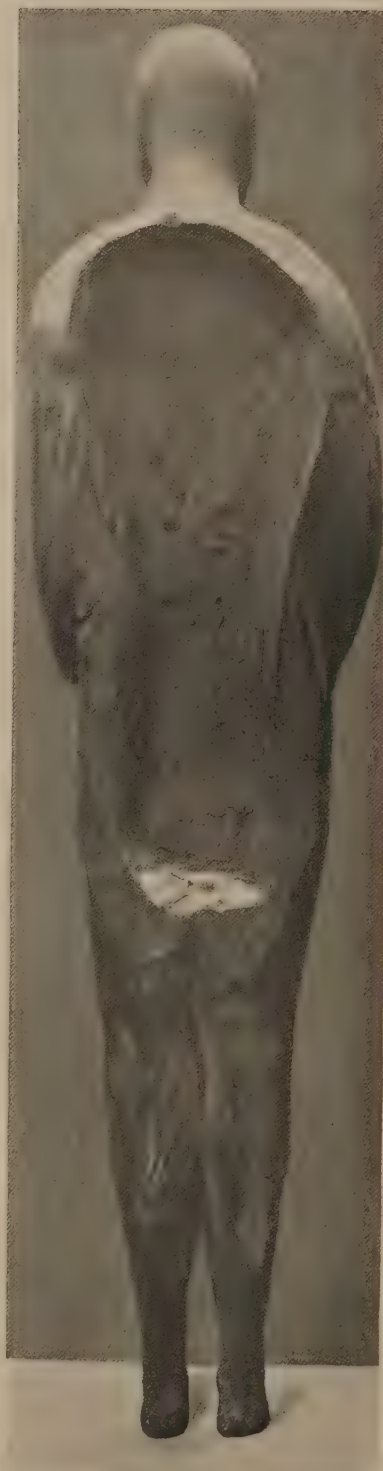
On arrival at Westminster the coffin and the "image in likeness of a king" were placed within a most magnificent herse, set up, no doubt, as Abbot Islip's was, in the middle of the presbytery. For this £59 16s. 8d. were paid

Willelmo Hanele pro denariis per ipsum solutis pro factura unius hercie erecta circa corpus ejusdem domini Regis in ecclesia conventuali beati Petri Westmonasterii die sepulture ejusdem domini Regis cum barers et closettis ibidem factis.

This day of the king's burial was the 5th of July.

On the Issue Roll for Michaelmas, 19 Richard II. (1395), is an entry that has for some time been taken to refer to the well-known portrait of King Richard II. which hangs in the presbytery of the abbey church. It is for a payment of £20 :

Dompno Petro Sacriste ecclesie beati Petri Westmonasterii In denariis sibi liberatis



FUNERAL EFFIGY OF KING EDWARD III.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

per manus Johannis Haxey in persolucionem xx. li. quas Dominus Rex sibi liberare mandavit tam pro pictura cooperture supra Tumbam Anne nuper Regine Anglie infra dictam ecclesiam humate existentem quam pro remocione unius tumbæ prope tumbam ejusdem Regine ac eciam pro pictura ejusdem tumbæ remote et *pro pictura unius ymaginis ad similitudinem unius Regis contrafacte in choro ecclesie predictæ per breve de privato sigillo inter mandatos de hoc termino.*^a

From the close similarity in the wording, there can be little if any doubt that the "counterfeit image in the likeness of a king" which was painted in 1395 is identical with the "image in likeness of a king" made in 1377, and therefore that it represented King Edward III. and not Richard II. Like that for Edward's father it was probably of wood, and there is still preserved at Westminster (Plate LVIII.) what may be the veritable figure made by Stephen Hadley.

The funeral of a king who had formally renounced the Crown, as Richard II. did on 29th September, 1399, was not likely to be carried out with the pomp and ceremony due to a king-regnant, especially when the unhappy prince died in prison.

The chroniclers of the time are agreed that Richard died of starvation, or was murdered, in the castle of Pontefract, on 14th February, 1399-1400, and that his body was conveyed to London through all the most notable places in order that it might be seen of men.^b Edward Hall says that Richard's body was "embalmed and seared and covered with lead al save his face (to the entent that all men might perceive that he was departed out of this mortal lyfe)." Thomas of Otterbourne says the corpse was borne all the way with the face bare "from the lowest part of the forehead to the throat."^c

^a Issue Roll (Pells), Mich. 19 Richard II.

^b Ricardus, quondam Rex Angliæ, cum audisset hæc infortunia, mente consternatus semetipsum extinxit inedia voluntaria, ut fertur, clausitque diem extremum apud castrum de Ponte Fracto, die Sancti Valentini. Cujus corpus per loca celeberrima quæ interjacent a dicto castello usque Londonias, ubi contigit pernoscere, monstratum est post Officium Mortuorum, et in crastino post Missam peractam. Cumque in ecclesia Sancti Pauli Londoniis celebratæ fuissent exequiæ, Rege præsentem et Londiniarum civibus, confestim corpus reportari jubetur ad Langley, tumulandum in ecclesia Fratrum Prædicatorum; perfeceruntque ibidem supremum officium Episcopus Cestrensis, Abbas Sancti Albani, et Abbas de Waltham, sine magnatum præsentia, sine populari turba; nec erat qui eos invitaret ad prandium post laborem.—*Thomæ Walsingham Historia Anglica* (Roll Series 28 i.), ii. 245, 246.

^c Cujus corpus per loca celeberrima, quæ interjacent, a Pontefracto usque London deportatum fuit et ostensum. ea pars saltem corporis, per quod cognosci poterat, facies scilicet ab ima parte frontis usque ad guttur. deinde delatum London ad ecclesiam S. Pauli, etc.—*Thomæ Otterbourne Chronica Regum Angliæ*, ed. Hearne (Oxford, 1732), i. 229.

As the considerable sum of £80 was spent solely on bringing the corpse to London it must have been attended with some degree of state.

On its arrival in London it rested for the night in the cathedral church of St. Paul, where it was shown to the people after the office for the dead, and again on the morrow after mass. John Harding, who saw it lying in state there, confirms its being "lapped in lede."^a

Richard's own wish was to be buried at Westminster, where he had already set up the marble tomb with its gilded bronze figures and enrichments under which he now lies, but the new king, Henry of Lancaster, willed otherwise, and ordered the body to be taken to King's Langley, where it was buried in the church of the Friars Preachers without the presence of the peers or of any crowd of folk.

On the accession of Henry V., who had been treated kindly by him in his youth, the body of Richard was taken up and brought with great pomp and ceremony to Westminster, and laid in his own tomb. By a strange irony of fate the banners and gissons of arms that had garnished the herse of Henry IV. were borrowed from the Prior and Convent of Canterbury to do honour to King Richard on the day of his burial at Westminster.^b

^a John Harding's Chronicle says:

In March nexte after, kyng Richarde then was dede
Fro Poumfrete brought with great solempnitee
Men sayd forhungered he was & lapped in lede
At Poules his masse was done and dirigo
In hers royal, semely to royalte
The kyng & lordes, clothes of golde there offerde
Some. viii. some. ix. upon his hers were proferde.

At Westmynster then did they so the same
When trust he should there have buryed bene
In at that mynster lyke a prince of name
In his owne tombe, together with the quene
Anne, that afore his fyrst wyfe had bene
But then the kyng, him fast to Langley sent
There in the Freers to be buryed secretement.

(ed. Grafton, London, 1543), f. C.xcix.

^b "Priori et Conventui ecclesie Christi Cantuaꝝ In denariis sibi liberatis in persolucionem x. li. quas dominus Rex sibi liberare mandavit Habend. de dono suo pro diversis vexillis ab eis mutatis superpondendis circa herceam ordinatam et positam infra ecclesiam beati Petri Westmonasterii pro exequiis domini Ricardi nuper Regis Anglie de ordinacione domini Regis jam retro tumultati ibidem per breve, etc. x. li." Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 1 Henry V. (No. 246).

King Henry IV. died on the 20th March, 1412-13, in the great chamber of the abbot's house at Westminster, called Jerusalem Chamber.

Mr. W. H. Wylie, in his *History of England under Henry the Fourth*,^a gives a circumstantial description of the embalming, cering, and arraying of the king's body against its lying in state at Westminster; of its being stripped, lapped in lead, placed in a wooden coffin, and conveyed first by barge to Gravesend, and thence by road to Canterbury, where it was buried. But Mr. Wylie gives no authorities, and the vivid picture and pageant described by him seem to be for the most part his own invention.

The king was buried at Canterbury, in accordance with his will, on the north side of the shrine of St. Thomas. The grave was opened in 1832,^b when the body was found encased in lead, within a rough outer coffin of wood. Various references point to his funeral having been one of great magnificence, and, as had now become customary, there was probably a representation of the dead king carried in the procession, but the details have yet to be unearthed from the wardrobe or other accounts in the Public Record Office.

King Henry V. died in France, at Bois de Vincennes, on 31st August, 1422. The body was embalmed preparatory to its conveyance to England, but so much honour was paid to the dead king's memory that the men of Paris and of Rouen offered large sums of money for his body to be buried in France, and such slow progress could be made by the funeral procession that it did not reach London until 11th November.

In accordance with his will King Henry V. was buried in the abbey church of Westminster, between the shrine of St. Edward and the Lady Chapel east of it, the altar of the relics being moved to make way for him.

Thomas of Walsingham, after describing the honours paid to King Henry's memory in France, and the bringing of the body over to England, says:

The equipment of the dead king, if it would please you to know, was as follows: There was placed upon the chest in which his body was, a certain image very like in stature and face to the dead king, arrayed in a long and ample purple mantle, furred with ermine, a sceptre in one hand and a round gold ball with a cross infixed in the other; with a gold crown on the head over the royal cap, and the royal sandals on his feet. And in such wise he was raised on a chariot that he might be seen of all, that by this means

^a Vol. iv. 111-113.

^b *Archæologia*, xxvi. 440-445.

mourning and grief might grow, and his friends and subjects might the more kindly beseech the Lord on his soul's behalf.^a

The contemporary French chronicler, Enguerrand de Monstrelet, gives another account :

Et là fut menée en noble appareil la Royne d'Angleterre, qui de la mort de son feu mary riens ne sçavoit : et apres que les seigneurs du sang Royal l'eurent mis sur un chariot, que menoient quatre grans chevaux, et avoient fait sa ressemblance, et representation de cuyr bouilly painct moult gentillement, portant en son chief couronne d'or moult precieuse, et tenoit en sa main dextre le sceptre ou verge Royale, et en sa main senestre avoit une pomme d'or, et gisoit en un lict sur le chariot dessusdit le visage vers le ciel.^b

Combining the two accounts, it appears that the figure borne upon the king's coffin was of boiled leather, moulded into shape and painted, vested in the parliament robes, with the cap of estate and over it (as was proper) the crown upon the head; the two sceptres, the one with the dove, the other the ball-shaped one with the cross, in the hands; and the royal buskins and sandals upon the feet.

What became of this figure is not known.

The tragic death, or more likely murder, of King Henry VI. in the Tower of London on 21st May, 1471, took place under circumstances which debarred the unfortunate monarch from a funeral befitting his dignity. It is nevertheless clear from the account of the expenses on the Issue Roll that his body received decent treatment and that it was buried with all due reverence and solemnity.

John Warkworth in his Chronicle, after stating that Henry was put to death in the Tower, says :

And one the morwe he was chestyde and brought to Paulys, and his face was opyne that every manne myghte see hyme; and in hys lyinge he bledde one the pament ther; and afterward at the Blake Fryres was broughte, and ther he blede newe and fresche; and from thens he was caryed to Chyrchesey abbey in a bote, and buried there in oure Lady chapelle.^c

Edward Hall also says :

The ded corps of Kyng Henry, with bills and gleves pompeously, (yf you call that a

^a *Cujus Regis mortui apparatus si scire libeat, talis erat. Superposita namque fuerat cistæ, in qua corpus ejus habebatur, quædam imago staturæ et faciei Regis mortui simillima, chlamyde purpurea satis longa et larga, cum furrura de ermyne induta, sceptrum in una manu, et pila rotunda aurea, cum cruce infixæ, in altera; corona aurea in capite, super capellum regium, et sandaliis regiis in pedibus, impositis. Et taliter elevatur in curru, ut a singulis videri potuisset, ut per hoc mœror et dolor accresceret, et ejus amici et subditi pro ejus anima Dominum tenerius exorarent.*—*Thomas Walsingham Historia Anglicana* (Rolls Series, 28 i.), ii. 345, 346.

^b *Chroniques d'Enguerran de Monstrelet* (Paris, 1596), i. 325 b.

^c Ed. Halliwell, Camden Society 10 (London, 1839) 21.

funerall pompe) was conveyghed from the tower, to the church of saint Paule, and there layed on a beere, where it lay the space of an whole daye: and the next day, wythout Priestes or Clarcke, Torche or Taper, syngyng or sayng, it was conveyghed to the Monastery of Chertesey, beyng distant from London . xv. Mile, and there was buryed, but after he was removed to Windsore, and there in a new vawte newly intumilate.^a

The account on the Issue Roll begins with a payment of £15 3s. 6½d. to Hugh Brice: (i.) “for wax, linen cloth, spices, and other ordinary expenses by him appointed and spent about the burial of the said Henry of Windsor,” which seems to imply that the king’s body was embalmed and enveloped in cerecloth as was usual; and (ii.) “for wages of rewards of divers men carrying torches for the Tower to St. Pauls, and thence to Chertsey.”

Master Richard Martyn was also paid £18 3s. 3d., in two sums:

(i.) of £9 10s. 11d. for 28 ells of linen cloth of Holland and for expenses both within the Tower at the death of the said Henry and at Chertsey on the day of his burial; also for rewards given to divers soldiers of Calais watching about the body, and for the hire of barges with masters and sailors rowing by the Thames to Chertsey; and

(ii.) of £8 12s. 4d. for sums paid to the four Orders of Friars in the City of London and to the Brethren of the Holy Cross there and in other works of charity, viz. to the Carmelites 20s., to the Austin Friars 20s., to the Friars Minors 20s., to the Friars Preachers for celebrating obsequies and masses 40s., and to the Brethren of St. Cross 10s.; and for the obsequies and saying of masses at Chertsey on the day of the burial of the said Henry 52s. 3d.^b

The total expenses were only £33 6s. 8½d.

^a *The Unison of the two noble and illustre famelies of Iancastre and Yorke* (London, 1548). The prosperous reigne of Kyng Edward the Fourth, fo. xxxiiij.

^b “Hugoni Brice In denariis sibi liberatis per manum propriam pro tot denariis per ipsum solutis tam pro Cera tela linea speciebus et alijs ordinarijs expensis per ipsum appositis et expeditis circa sepulturam dicti Henrici de Windesore qui infra Turrim Londoñ diem suum clausit extremum. Ac pro vadijs et regardis diversorum hominum portancium Tortos a Turri predicto usque ecclesiam Cathedralem Sancti Pauli London. et abinde usque Chertesey cum corpore presente per breve predictum xv.li. iijs. vj.d.ob.

Magistro Ricardo Martyn In denariis sibi liberatis ad vices videlicet una vice per manum propriam ix.li. xs. xjd. pro tot denariis per ipsum solutis pro xxviij ulnis tele linee de Holandia et expensis factis tam infra Turrim predictum ad ultimum vale dicti Henrici quam apud Chertesey in die sepulture ejusdem. Ac pro regardis datis diversis soldariis Cales vigilantibus circa corpus et pro conductu Bargearum cum Magistris et Nautis remigantibus per quam Thamiç usque Chertesey predictam et alia vice viij^{li} xi^s iiij^d pro tot denariis per ipsum solutis iiij^{or} ordinibus fratrum infra Civitatem London. et fratribus sancte Crucis in eadem et in alijs operibus Caritatis videlicet Fratribus Carmel xxs. Fratribus Augustiñ xxs. Fratribus Minoribus xxs. Fratribus Predicatoribus pro obsequiis et missis celebrandis xls. et dictis Fratribus Sancte Crucis xs. Ac pro obsequiis et missis dicendis apud Chirtesey predictam in die sepulture dicti Henrici lijs^a iijs^d per breve predictum xviiij^{li} iijs^a iijs^d.” Issue Roll (Pells), Easter, 11 Edward IV. No. 505.

There is no mention of any funeral effigy, and it is most unlikely that one was carried in the procession by land or water.

With the death of King Edward IV. we enter upon a new source of information in the shape of the official accounts of the funeral ceremonies preserved in the College of Arms or in the Public Record Office, and these are often accompanied by details of the expenses of the funeral itself.

The account of King Edward's funeral is among those at the Heralds' College, and another version of it was printed in the first volume of *Archaeologia* so long ago as 1770.

The king died in the Palace of Westminster on 5th April, 1483, and his almost naked body lay exposed on a board for ten or twelve hours that all the spiritual and temporal peers then in London, and the Mayor of London and his brethren, might see it. It was then embalmed, cased, etc. and brought into the chapel for the offices of the dead, and there lay until 17th April, when it was conveyed to the abbey church hard by, "having upon the corpse a rich and a large black cloth of gold with a cross of white cloth of gold and above that a rich canopy of cloth imperial fringed with gold and blue silk." On arrival in the church the coffin was laid within a worthy herse,

and in y^t herse above y^e corps was upon the cloth of golde abovesaid a personage lyke to the symilitude of y^e Kinge in habit Royall crowned w^t a crown of his heed, holding in one hand a scepter & in the other hand a ball of sylver & gylt w^t a cross paty.

The service at Westminster ended, "the corps with the personage as above" was conveyed in a chariot covered with black velvet first to Charing Cross and then on to Syon,

where at the cherche dore the bushops sensed hym, and y^e corps w^t the Image as before was borne into the quere of y^e same church, and y^{er} y^e bushop of Duresme dyd y^e service.

And on the morow in lyke order as above was conveyd to y^e chariet & from thence to Wyndesore . . . and so proceeded to y^e new cherche wher in was ordered a marvelous well wrought herse & furth wth dirge, etc. etc.^a

On the following day the king was buried on the north side of the high altar. What became of the "personage" is not recorded, nor are any remains of it discoverable at Windsor.

Concerning the death of Richard III. little seems to be known beyond the fact that he was killed in the battle on Bosworth Field, and that his body was buried in

^a Heralds' College MS. I. 11, f. 85.

the church of the Grey Friars at Leicester, "where afterwards," says Sandford, "King *Henry* caused a Monument to be erected for him, with his Picture in Alabaster, which remained till the Dissolution under Henry the Eighth, when it was pulled down and utterly defaced."^a In the Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VII. from 1491 to 1505 is a charge, under date 11th September, 1495, of £10 1s. paid "To James Keyley for King Richard tombe."^b

A greater mystery still enshrouds the remains of the unfortunate little nephew, King Edward V., whom he is believed to have caused to be done to death with his little brother Richard, Duke of York, in the Tower two years before. Their bones are supposed to be enshrined within an urn in the abbey church of Westminster, where it was placed in 1678, but whether the contents are the relics of the unhappy boys or other animal bones is not known.

King Henry VII. died at Richmond on 21st April, 1509, at the early age of fifty-two, and according to a MS. in the Heralds' College,^c

f. 86b.] After þ^t all thinge necessary for thenterement & funerall pomp of y^e late kinge were sumptuously prepared and dode^d / y^e corps of y^e said defunct was brought owt of his chamber / where he deceased into his grete chamber where he Rested iij days / & every day had dirige & was solempnely song / w^t a prelate mytred / & so other iij days in the hall & other iij days in y^e chapell w^t lyke service & morners gyving their attendaunce / and in every place, was a herce garnessed w^t banners scochines & pencelles. And on Wensday the ixth day of May was the body put in a chayre / covered w^t blacke cloth of golde drawen w^t x grete coursers covered w^t blacke velvet garnished w^t scochins of fyne golde / Over the corps was an Image or Representaçon of y^e late king layd on quissions of golde aparelled in his Riche robes of astate w^t crowne on his hed ball & scepter in his hande environed w^t banners of Arms of all his Dominions, titles, genealogies / and thus the chayre beinge ordered The chapell w^t y^e prelate went praing / and all other in blacke morninge w^t innumerable torches proceded in good order from Richemond to London / etc. etc.

The body was first taken to St. Paul's, where it lay in state, and on the following day was conveyed to Westminster.

In Westmⁿ cherge was a m^velousle curiose grete herce of ix principales full of lighte w^{ch} was lighted agaynst y^e coming of y^e corps / W^{ch} was taken owt of y^e chayre w^t vj lordes & set under y^e herce / y^e Representaçon lyng upon y^e Coffyn on a pall of golde, etc. etc.

^a Francis Sandford, *A Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England and Monarchs of Great Britain*, &c. ed. Samuel Stebbing (London, 1707), 434.

^b Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, 105.

^c MS. I. 11, f. 82 b.

^d *Sic* for "done."

The further details of the funeral do not concern us, but the account above quoted concludes with the following :

f. 87b.]	The Chardge of the Enterement of King Henry the vij th .			
The herce cloth	.	.	xxxiiij ^{li}	xvij ^s iiij ^d
The palles of cloth of golde & badken	.	.	Cxxiiij ^{li}	xx ^d
The canopy	.	.	xv ^{li}	xvj ^s j ^d
The ffurryng of y ^e Kinge robe & ij cappes of estate	.	.		lix ^s iiij ^d
The Kinge coffyn	.	.	vij ^{li}	vij ^s x ^d
The Kinge Pyctour	.	.	vj ^{li}	xij ^s viij ^d
The making of Pore mens gownes	.	.	xviiij ^{li}	xvj ^s viij ^d
The mantellace of sylke for y ^e robe of purple velvet	.	.	xxxij ^s	iiij ^d
The cloth of estate for high aulter	.	.	vj ^{li}	xj ^s viij ^d

A little more detail about the king's picture is afforded by another account : ^a

f. 97.]	The Kynges pycture.			
Item of Thomas Mountey ix yerde p ^r pill satyn for a gown for to ley				
upon the same pycture at xiiij ^s the yerde	.	.	vj ^{li}	vj ^s
Item to Stephen Jasp for makyng of the same gown	.	.		vj ^s viij ^d
Summa	.	.	vj ^{li} xij ^s	viiij ^d

But it is unfortunate that nothing is entered about the making of the picture itself.

It will be noticed that, as in the case of Henry V.'s figure, it was arrayed in the parliament robes and not the coronation ornaments.

King Henry VIII. died at Westminster at midnight on 28th January, 1546-7, and after the usual preliminaries the body lay in state in the chapel at Whitehall from 2nd to 14th February. On the latter day, about 10 o'clock in the morning, a solemn procession, which is fully described in the Heralds' College MS., from which our information is derived, set out for Windsor.^b

f. 67] Then folowid the Charet with the Cophyn and the Corps having the Kinge picture lying uppon it made and apointed as folowith The picture was made veray like unto the Kinge Mat^{is} person . both in stature favowre . forme and apparell . the which was laid a long uppon the Cophyn with twoo greate Cussyns under his head. The Crowne Emperiall of Englande of goulde sett with precious stones . and under that a night cappe of blak satten . set full of stone and golde . was uppon his heade . his shurte as it apperid abought the

^a P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 550.

^b MS. I. 14.

coller and handes semed to be of fynne goldsmithes worke . the picture was apparrellid with Robes of Crymsyn velvet furred with mynifer powdred with armyns . the coloure of the Garter with the George abought his nekk . a crymsyne satten dublett embroydered with golde . twoo bracelettē of golde abought his wrestē sett with stone and perle a fayre armering sworde by his side. The Septure in his right hande and the balle in the lyfte hande a payer of fynne scarlett whoses . and a payer of crymsyn velvet showes . and uppon his handes a payer of new gloves . with many ringē sett with rych stones oñ his fyngers.

On the arrival of the body at Windsor, after resting for the night at Syon,

f. 68 b.] the picture was furst conveyde in to the quyre by dyverse knyghtē and gentilmēn and then the Cophyn by xvj yomen w^t black staves in ther handē . to stay the corps as nede requyred . was brought in to the herse [f. 69] made in the myddes of the quyer . wherin was provided a goodly vawght to bury the corps in and over the same vawght was layde a grate uppon the whiche did stande the said herse w^t the cophyn and picture and it was trymmed and apointed as it was at Westm̃ both for the places of the moreners . hangyngē scocyhns and waxe . saving that the herse ther had xiiij greate pillars . and weyghed by estimacion iiij^m li, &c.

In the course of the usual offerings, while the body lay in state the next day (16th February), after the offering of the axe,

f. 70 b.] the lordes moreners brought lying uppon bothe there armes sondry peacē of silke of dyverse colo's some moo some lesse according to their degreyse . and laid all the same uppon the leggē of the king his picture lying uppon the herse.

At the conclusion of the offering the sermon followed, which being ended :

f. 71.] Then came in to the herse vj knyghtē . and they all to gether removed the kingē picture into the vestrye.

The king's coffin was then solemnly lowered into the vault, where it still lies. What became of the "king's picture" is not further recorded.*

The account of the funeral of King Henry VIII. so fully illustrates the custom, which had now become the rule, and so continued for more than a century afterwards, of representing the dead sovereign outside the coffin by a counterfeit presentment in carved wood or modelled wax, that it may be useful to recapitulate the various stages that led up to it.

At first, as in the case of St. Edward and King William the Conqueror, the body was carried to the grave unembalmed and covered, upon a bier.

Next comes the effort by rude embalming to preserve the corpse from decom-

* The accounts of the expenses of the king's funeral are in the Public Record Office (Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 551), but do not contain any mention of the "king's picture" or representation.

position in order that it may be moved to a distance, as in the case of King Henry I., but it is still borne covered upon the bier.

The funeral of King Henry II. in 1189 was the first in which the body was openly showed, arrayed in the coronation ornaments, and with the face uncovered.

This new fashion had its disadvantages unless burial quickly followed death, and in the case of Henry's son, the younger Henry, the body was embalmed and lapped in lead to enable it to be carried elsewhere.

King Henry III. was apparently the first to be borne to the grave in a coffin, with an image of wax outside, and after him this became the custom at every king's funeral, unless such circumstances as have been mentioned hindered its being done.

Of the later instances of the custom after King Henry VIII. during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it is only necessary to say a few words, since the documentary evidence chiefly relates to the actual figures, or the relics of them, that have survived, and are still preserved at Westminster.

King Edward VI. died at Greenwich on 6th July, 1553, when only in his sixteenth year. His body was duly embalmed, but remained at Greenwich until the 7th August, when it was removed to Whitehall. The next day it was conveyed to Westminster, and buried in the newly-built Lady Chapel of the abbey church. All the charges of the funeral, which was a very sumptuous one, are preserved in the Public Record Office, but the only item concerned with the subject of our paper is a mention of

the Chareott of Tymbre that Caried the Kinges Corpes withe the kinges picture from white hawle to Westminster Churche.^a

This "picture" ought to be among those which have been preserved in the abbey church, but as no later mention of it is to be found, it was probably not taken care of after the king's funeral.

Effigies of the usual character were also carried at the funerals of both of King Edward's sisters, namely of Queen Mary in 1558 and of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, and to these further reference will be made in their place.

The last of our kings for whom a funeral effigy was made was James I., but as the trunk of it has been preserved it will be more fully described in its order presently, together with the curious accounts of its making.

^a P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 552.

Meanwhile this inquiry must go back to a brief consideration of the history of another group of figures, those of the queens-consort of our sovereigns.

The position of the queens-consort throughout the history of England has been so subordinate to that of the king that we need not expect to find the same degree of etiquette observed at their funerals as in that of the sovereign. They were nevertheless buried with a considerable amount of ceremony, and the effigies at Fontevraud of Queen Eleanor, widow of King Henry II., and of Queen Isabel, the second wife of King John, represent them lying dead upon biers and arrayed in the royal robes in which they were carried to the grave. The effigy of Queen Berengaria, widow of King Richard I., at L'Espan, where she was buried about 1230, is of the usual monumental type.

The aged Queen Eleanor of Provence, widow of King Henry III., died on 24th June, 1291, in the royal monastery of Ambresbury, of which she had been an inmate for many years. As the nuns did not dare to bury her without the consent and presence of her son, King Edward I., they embalmed the body^a and deposited it in a secret place until the king's return from Scotland, whereupon it was solemnly buried in the abbey church on 8th September in the presence of a great assemblage of ecclesiastics and nobles of the realm. The queen's heart, however, was buried in the church of the Friars Minors in London.

The first queen of Edward I., Eleanor of Castile, died at Harby, in Nottinghamshire, in 1290. The body was disemboweled and embalmed, and carried on a bier all the way to London, but from the silence on the point of eye-witnesses of the funeral procession both at Dunstable and St. Albans, at each of which places it was halted for the night, there does not seem to have been any effigy on the coffin. The queen's body was buried at Westminster, according to the *Annales Londonienses*,

ad pedes monumenti domini Henrici regis cum indumentis regalibus, corona et sceptro; et pulvis super fronte et pectore, ad modum crucis, ponebatur, et quædam candela ceræ similiter cum quadam littera.^b

The queen's bowels, etc. were buried in the Lady Chapel of Lincoln Minster, and her heart in the church of the Friars Preachers in London.

^a "Et quia dominus rex filius ejus tunc temporis in remotis agebat, insepulta permansit usque Nativitatem beatæ Virginis proximo sequentem, myrrha tamen et aromaticis pretiosis linita magnifice, ut decuit, et peruncta." *Annales de Waverleia* (Rolls Series 36. ii.), 409.

^b Rolls Series 76, i. 99.

The second consort of King Edward I., the Lady Margaret of France, died on 14th February, 1317-18, and was honourably buried before the high altar of the church of the Friars Minors of London, of which she had been a great benefactor.

The details of her funeral are not yet forthcoming, nor are those of another queen, who was buried in the quire of the same Friars Minors' church, the Lady Isabel of France, the consort of Edward II., who died on 22nd August, 1358.

Queen Philippa, the Flemish consort of King Edward III., died on 15th August, 1369, and was buried, it is said, "with great pomp" in the abbey church of Westminster, but the accounts relating to her funeral have yet to be discovered.

The following interesting note occurs on the Wardrobe Account, 31 Edward III. [1356-7—1357-8]:^a

Recepta et Liberaciones per Ricardum de Ravenser, Thesaurarium Hospicii.

Una tunica cum .j. mantello de Samito rubeo liniato cum sindone glauco in quibus
domina Regina fuit marita

Liberatura

pro corpore Regine involvendo
cum sepultura corporis
ejusdem Regine impo^d.

Queen Anne of Bohemia, the first consort of King Richard II., died at Shene on Whitsunday (7th June), 1394. In order that the funeral might be as magnificent as possible, it was put off until 3rd August, when the body was buried with all due solemnity in the abbey church of Westminster. The full details of the funeral have yet to be unearthed from the Wardrobe or other Accounts, but there can be no doubt that an effigy was carried in the procession, for a payment of 3s. is entered on the Issue Roll (Easter, 17 R. II.):

In denariis solutis pro batillagio et cariagio ymaginis ad similitudinem Anne nuper Regine Anglie facte videlicet de London usque Shene per consideracionem Thesaurarii et Camerari-
orum.

The second wife of King Richard, the Lady Isabel of France, married in 1406 Charles count of Angoulême, and was buried in the abbey of St. Laumer at Blois.

Henry of Lancaster, afterwards King Henry IV., took for his first wife Mary de Bohun, younger daughter and coheir of Humphrey, Earl of Hereford,

^a P. R. O. Accounts (Exchequer K.R.) 393/4.



FUNERAL EFFIGY OF QUEEN KATHERINE OF VALOIS, AND HEAD ($\frac{1}{4}$ linear) BELIEVED TO BE THAT OF QUEEN ANNE OF BOHEMIA.

etc. but she died in 1394, before her husband's accession. He afterwards married the Lady Joan of Navarre, who survived him, and on her death in 1437 was buried beneath the same tomb as King Henry in the cathedral church of Canterbury.

Like those of her husband, the accounts of her funeral are not at present known, so there is nothing to show whether an effigy was provided for it.

Queen Katharine of Valois, the consort of Henry V., married after his death, about 1428, a Welsh gentleman named Owen Tudor, with whom she lived in obscurity for some years. In 1433 Tudor was sent to Newgate, whereupon Queen Katharine retired to the abbey of Bermondsey, where she died on 3rd January, 1436-7. Her body lay in state in the church of St. Katherine by the Tower till 18th February, and was conveyed thence first to St. Paul's, then to Westminster Abbey, where she was buried.

Among the figures so long preserved in the Abbey is one that is traditionally attributed to Queen Katharine, but the account for its making has yet to be found.

Queen Margaret of Anjou, the unhappy consort of the unfortunate King Henry VI., died abroad in 1482, and was buried at Angers.

Queen Elizabeth Widvile, the wife of King Edward IV., died in 1492 and was buried at Windsor beside her husband. An account of her funeral is given in Arundel MS. 26, but it does not refer to any effigy as having been carried upon the coffin.

King Richard III.'s queen, the Lady Anne of Warwick, died on 16th March, 1484-5, and was buried in the abbey church of Westminster, but nothing seems to be recorded concerning her funeral.

Of the funeral of the Lady Elizabeth of York, Queen Consort of King Henry VII., a detailed account has been preserved in the Heralds' College.^a

The queen died in the Tower on 11th February, 1502-3, and after the body had been encoffined it lay there for several days. On the eighth day the service was done by the Bishop of Bangor, on the ninth by the Bishop of Exeter, and on the tenth by the Bishop of Lincoln, after which

f. 28.] the corps was conveyd into y^e chayre w^{ch} was new pareled as foloeth. Furst all the baylles sydes & coffres covered w^t black velvet / & ov^r all along of a prety depnes a

^a MS. I. 11.

cloth of black velvet w^t a crosse of cloth of sylv^r well frynged / drawn w^t vj horsse / trapped w^t blak velvet & all the draught w^t the same / & when y^e corps was in the same there was ordened a holly chest over yt / wheron was a ymage or psonage lyke a quene / clothed in y^e very robes of estate of y^e quene / having her very ryche crowne on her hed her here about her shoulder / hir scepter in her right hand / & her fyngers well garnished w^t ryng^e of golde & p^rious stones & on every end of y^e chayre on y^e cofres kneled a gentelman hussier by all the way to Westminster.

On arrival of the procession at Westminster :

f. 30.] After y^t the corps was sensed and taken out of the chare / borne by soch persons as were apoynted / ymage and all as yt aperteyneth / w^t y^e foresaid banners of O^r Lady / and y^e greatest estat^e laying^e y^er hand^e to yt was w^t the procession conveyd to the herce & then beganne dyrge after y^t an officer at armes had said for quene Elizabeth sowle, etc. etc.

On the morrow, after divers services, various "pallys" having been offered in honour of the deceased, there followed the sermon :

f. 31.] Then the Ladyes departed | after whos departyng the Image w^t the crowne & the riche robes were had to a secret place by St. Edward^e Shryne and then the body was solemnly buried.

Like the account of the funeral of King Henry VIII., this of the burial of his mother is of interest as showing what was done with "the image."

Of the numerous wives of King Henry VIII. one was divorced, two were beheaded, one died in childbed, and two outlived him.

Queen Katharine of Aragon died in 1536, and in the 16th volume of *Archæologia* ^a there is printed :

A remembrance for thenterrement of the right excellent and noble Princesse the Lady Catherin, Doughter to the right highe and mighty Prince Ferdinand late King of Castile, and late Wief to the noble and excellent prince Arthur brother to o^r Sovereign Lorde King Henry the viijth.

The document, now in the Public Record Office, which bears this heading is in the handwriting of Thomas Wriothesley, who has included the following among the directions for the queen's funeral, which was evidently intended to be one of some state :

Item there must be provided a charet to conveye the corps from the chaple where it shall first rest to the place wher it shalbe buried the corps must be covered w^t a pall of black riche cloth of golde devided w^t a crosse of white cloth of gold and uppon the same a

^a Vol. xvi. 22 ; also in *The Archæological Journal*, xi. 353-366.



FUNERAL EFFIGY OF QUEEN ELIZABETH OF YORK.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

cast or puffed ymage of a princesse apparailled in her Robes of estate w^t a cronall uppon her hed in her heare w^t ringe gloves and Juellē uppon her handes.^a

The queen was buried in the abbey church of Peterborough, but it is doubtful from the very minute account of the funeral ceremonies contained in the Vienna archives^b whether the “ymage” mentioned by Wriothesley was actually adopted.

The burials of Anne Bullen (1536) and Katharine Howard (1541-2) took place under circumstances that precluded pompous funerals, but that of Queen Jane Seymour, for whom King Henry seems really to have entertained some affection, was accompanied by a considerable amount of ceremonial. So much of the account of it in the Heralds' College MS.^c as refers to the subject matter of our paper may be quoted :

It. The Corps in the chare covered w^t a rich pall & therupon the presentacion of y^e quenes grace in hir roobes of estate w^t a riche crown of gold upon hir hed in hir heere as aparteynith and a sceptre in hir right hand of gold and on hir fyngars rich ringes w^t rich stonis / and aboute hir necke richli besene w^t gold & stonys and under y^e hed of y^e corps a rich pillowe of cloth of gold tissew. Hir schoys of cloth of gold w^t hawse smocke & all op^r Ornamentes.

Queen Jane was buried at Windsor on 12th November, 1537, having died on the 24th October.

Of the funeral of the Lady Anne of Cleves, which took place at Westminster in 1557, a very detailed account has been printed in Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*. From this it is clear that no effigy of the deceased lady was made or used. It is also clear from the account in the Heralds' College MS.^d that no effigy was borne at the funeral of Queen Katharine Parr at Sudeley Castle in 1548.

The next queen consort in the history of England was Anne of Denmark, the wife of King James I., at whose funeral not only was a “representation” carried, but it has fortunately been preserved, as well as the accounts for its making, which will be dealt with in their place.

Queen Henrietta Maria, the consort of King Charles I., died abroad in 1669 at her château of Colombes, near Paris, and was buried in the abbey church of

^a *Letters and Papers Henry VIII.* vol. 101, f. 27b.

^b *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, x. (1536), 105.

^c I. 14, f. 123 b.

^d I. 15, ff. 98-99.

St. Denis, where, according to Sandford, a hearse with a funeral effigy was set up for her exequies. She was apparently the last of our queens to have a funeral effigy, as there are no records of any later instances.

So far as can be ascertained, it was not the custom, although there is one exception to be noticed presently, for any funeral effigies to be provided for sons or daughters of our kings and queens, and this is borne out not only by the various chronicles but by the detailed accounts in the Heralds' College of the funerals of the children of Henry VII. None such was made for the Lady Elizabeth, the king's second daughter, in 1495, nor "ffor thenterment of my lorde Edmond the kinge thirde begotten sone" in 1499, nor even for Prince Arthur, the heir to the throne, in 1502; neither was any provided for "thentierment of Prince Henry son to Kinge Henry the VIIIth," in 1509-10.

An effigy was, however, carried at the funeral of Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, the sister of King Henry VIII., at Bury St. Edmunds in 1533, but probably because she had sometime been the queen consort of Louis XII. of France.

It may, too, be of interest to point out, since she afterwards found burial in the abbey church of Westminster, that in the accounts of Sir William Dethick, Garter Principal King of Arms, for the funeral of Mary Queen of Scots in 1587,^a there are included among the "chardges of the hearse, and other causes of herauldrie at the funerall of the Scottishe Quene":

a Chariot or choache to convey the Corpes wrapped and soldred in leade wth representaçõn of y^e saide scottishe Qu: from Fotheringaie to Peterborough, etc. etc. xvijli. vjs. viijd.

also for

a pyllowe of purple velvett frindged and tassellç of golde for the state of the representaçõn, lxxvs. viijd.

The single pre-Restoration instance of a funeral effigy for anyone other than a king or queen is that made for Henry Prince of Wales, the son of King James I. and Queen Anne of Denmark, in 1612.

This and the accounts relating to it will be described presently.

It is time now to turn to the remains of the effigies themselves.

I. The figure which seems to be earliest in date is that of a man, 5 feet

^a P. R. O. Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, Great Wardrobe, 3145.

10½ inches high, cut out of one piece of wood, apparently hard oak, very much hollowed out at the back. (Plate LVIII.)

The head and neck are covered with gesso, which retains signs of colour. No ears are shown. There are marks of the attachment of a beard, and the head was once covered by a wig. The arms and legs are not separated from the trunk. The hands are gone and the feet are broken.

This figure is of medieval character, but of poor quality, and is probably that made by Stephen Hadley for the funeral of King Edward III., whose name is traditionally associated with it. The attribution is supported by the strong resemblance between the face of the figure and that of the gilt-bronze effigy on the king's tomb.

With this figure is preserved the canvas foundation of a mantle, once of red velvet, of which a small piece is left. There are also the remains of a tippet of minever. The draperies, which are of special value from their rarity, so far as knowledge of their history goes back have always been attached to this figure.

II. The next earliest seems to be a head, now detached, which has been broken off a hollowed wooden trunk. (Plate LIX.) It shows the ears, which are well modelled, and is covered with gesso and painted. On either side behind the ears are the remains of carved hanging plaits of hair. On the top is fixed a large nail, and there is also a large round hole for hollowing out the head.

The head is of strongly medieval character, and its style and some resemblance to her gilt-bronze effigy make it likely that it represents Queen Anne of Bohemia, wife of King Richard II., for whose funeral "an image in the likeness of Anne, lately Queen of England," was undoubtedly made.

III. The next of the figures is that of a woman, 5 feet 4 inches in height, carved out of a single piece of wood, apparently oak, much hollowed out at the back. (Plate LIX.) The head and neck are well modelled, including the ears. Round the skull is a groove for a wig and crown. The body is shown covered by a tight-fitting dress cut square at the neck, and painted throughout a bright vermillion. The right arm is broken away at the shoulder. The left arm is slightly raised, but the hand is gone. The shoes show from under the dress and bear traces of gold and colour; they are, however, somewhat broken.

Tradition ascribes this figure, which is a fine one of the fifteenth century, to Queen Katherine of Valois, wife of King Henry V., and the costume and style agree.

IV. The next is a nearly complete figure of a woman, 5 feet 11½ inches high, of a totally different character from those just described. It consists of (a) a wooden head and bust with the arms as far as the elbow, and (b) a body formed partly of hoops, partly of a covering of leather stuffed with hay, and extending from the bust, round the lower edge of which it was nailed, to over the feet. The legs are in continuation of two long pieces of fir passing up into the bust. The head has a round peg hole on top, and a larger hole for hollowing it out. The face is carefully modelled, and painted. The bust, like the head, is hollowed, and covered with white or gold coloured satin, seamed and edged with red velvet, and cut square across the breast and back. The right arm is lost. The left forearm is suspended with a loose joint at the elbow, and like the bust, is covered with satin. The left hand is beautifully modelled. The legs are cased in dark cloth stockings, but the shoes are lost. (Plate LX.) *No. 5 in Carter's Drawing*

This figure corresponds so closely with the account of the making of the effigy of Queen Elizabeth of York, wife of King Henry VII., as to suggest the attribution to her.^a

f. 46 *dorse*].^b

For the piktur.

Richard Gibson for ij waynscottē called Regall	ij ^s	iiij ^d
Item for oon waynscot borde price		x ^d
Item for ij pecē of peretre tymbre price		viiij ^d
tem for ij Joyne's for half a day & an hole night & ich of them iiij ^d the half day and viij ^d the hole night for joyning of the waynscot toged ^r	iiij ^s	
Item for glewe for the same worke price		iiij ^d
Item to Mr. Lawrence for kerving of the hedde with Fedrik his mate	xiiij ^s	iiij ^d
Item to Wechon Kerve ^r and hans van hoof for kerving of the twoo hanndē		iiij ^s
Item for ij Joyne's on friday at night to frame the body		xvj ^d
Item for vij small shepeskynnes for the bodye	ij ^s	iiij ^d
Item for naylles		iiij ^d
Item for a paire of hosen for the same		x ^d
Item for oon hole pece of Sipers price	ij ^s	iiij ^d
Item for hire of the here	v ^s	
Item for laying of the first pryme coler		iiij ^d

^a "Her image preserved in the abbey, among those curious but mangled figures of some of our princes, which were carried at their interments, and now called the ragged regiment, has much the same countenance." —Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (London, 1762), i. 51.

^b P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 550.



FUNERAL EFFIGY OF KING HENRY VII.

Item to Master Henry for painting of the Image	iiijs ^a	
Item for making of the garment for laten naill	ij ^a	iiij ^d
Item to John Scot for watching in ye towe ^r a night		viiij ^d
Item to ij porte's for feching of the Coffyn frome the Princ ^e warderobe		ij ^d
Item for ij porte's to bere ye piktur ⁿ to ye Tower		iiij ^d
Item for blewe lio ^r to bynde ye figure to ye coffyn		iiij ^d
Item for the lio ^r that drewe the cofyn out of the chare price		vj ^d
Item for my labo ^r and John Englysshe labo ^r		xv ^d
Summa	lx ^s	
William Botry for ix yerdes crymsyn Saten for a garment for the said piktur at x ^d a yerde	iiij ^{li}	x ^s
Item a yerde 1 qrt ^l blac velvet to bordure ye same garment price the yerde x ^s	xij ^s	vi ^d

Among "The holle chardges at the said Enterment / of quene Elizabeth aforesaid" are the following items :

To Rich ^d Gybson for her pyctur makeinge	iiij ^{li}	
To Will ^m Bottres for ix yerde crymoysen saten / & a yerd q ^l of black velvet for garment to y ^e said pyctur	vj ^{li}	ij ^s vj ^d ^a

V. Of much the same date as the effigy of Queen Elizabeth of York is that which tradition has attributed to King Henry VII. (Plate LXI.) *No. IV is entirely drawn*

It is a well-modelled complete figure of a man, 6 feet 1 inch high; and consists of a wooden core, padded with hay and covered with canvas, upon which the figure has been modelled in plaster. The head is finely modelled and painted. (Plate LXII.) The skull has been left bare for a wig. The body has been painted, and is now of a grey colour. The left hand, which is loose and modelled on a wire foundation, is hollowed as if to support the orb; the right hand probably held the sceptre, but is broken off and lost. The feet are broken off, but remain.

The work is Renaissance and that of a master, most likely an Italian.

The accounts for the making of this interesting figure have not yet been discovered, and the only entry we have at present is that quoted above, giving the charges for the making of the purple satin gown wherewith it was clothed.

VI. The next effigy to be noticed is also Renaissance in character, but there is some difference of opinion as to whom it can represent. (Plate LXIV.)

It is a well-modelled complete figure of a woman, 5 feet 5 inches high, all of

^a Heralds' College MS. I. 11, f. 31b.

wood; the body apparently of wainscot oak and the legs of deal or pine. The head, with the ears, is modelled in gesso, but the features have been damaged. The chin is double. The surface of the trunk is left unsmoothed throughout. The arms are jointed at the shoulder by large iron screws, and the elbows attached by hinges for convenience of dressing the figure. The right hand is modelled in gesso, and though broken, evidently held a sceptre. The left forearm is loose and has lost the hand, but from the way it hung down it evidently held the orb. The legs are smoothed, and tenoned and pinned at the knees. The feet are broken.

There seems to be little doubt that this is the figure which is attributed in the early lists and descriptions to Queen Philippa, probably because its proportions seem to accord with those of the portly Flemish lady whose alabaster effigy is preserved in the abbey church. But a very superficial examination is enough to show that the figure cannot be that of a queen who died in 1369, and it has affinities of construction which link it to undoubted figures of the early part of the seventeenth century. Its Renaissance character on the other hand points to it being a work of the sixteenth century, and a simple process of elimination makes it tolerably certain that this is the "representation" which was made for the funeral of Queen Mary in 1558.

Of the charges for this there are two series in the Public Record Office. The one is among the documents relating to the Lord Chamberlain's Office,^a and is headed:

The Interremente of the moste excellente Princesse Quene Mary whose Corpes was caried ffrome hir manoure of Sainte James unto the Abbie of Westminster and there solemnly Buried the xiiijth daie of December Anno 1558. The The [*sic*] Charge of the Empcōns Provisions and delyveries aswell ffor the herse Clothes of Estate Canopies Coveringe of Chariottē wth diverse other necessaries for the saide Buriall Herafter followinge viz.

Among the "Standerdes and Banners, Scochions, &c" payments, apparently, to Nicholas Lisarde, Sergeant Painter:

Item for the Presentaçon Price	.	.	.	.	.	.	vj ^{li}	xiiij ^s	iiiij ^d
--------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	------------------	--------------------	--------------------

Sabatons of Clothe of golde:

Off Store in the Quenes Maiesties greate Warderobe di yarde Clothe of golde incarnate with Workē ffor one Paire of Sabatons for the Quenes picture	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
--	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

sine Precio

Of the same store di yarde cr satten to lyne the same.	Price	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
--	-------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

sine Precio

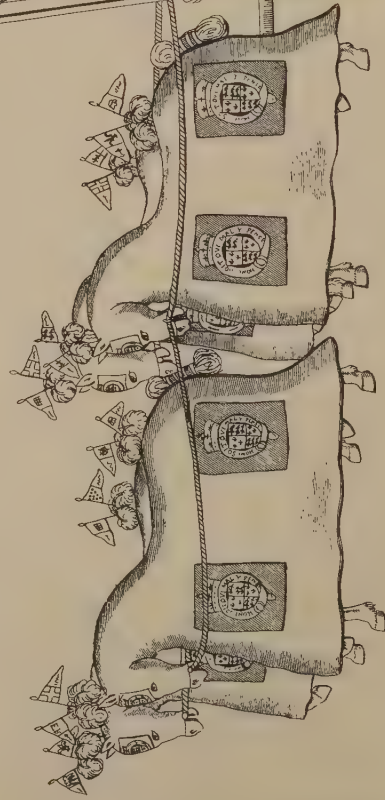
^a P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 553.



BUSTS ($\frac{1}{4}$ linear) OF THE FUNERAL EFFIGIES OF KING HENRY VII. AND QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

*The Charrett Drawne by 4 Horses uppo
wch Charrett stood the Coffin covered wth purple
velvet, & uppo that the representation, The Canopy
borne by 6. Knights.*



The other series of accounts is among those of the Great Wardrobe,^a and contains, like the above-named :

The Chardges of the Buryall of Quene Marye late Quene of Englande.

It is practically identical with the other, but is arranged somewhat differently, and has also among the "Painters woorkes" the charge of

vj^{li} xiijs^s iiij^d for the presentaçon.

VII. "The presydent of y^e funerall of our Soverayne lady of famous memorie Queen Eliz[abeth]" exists among the Lord Chamberlain's documents in the Public Record Office,^b and gives a most detailed account of the various articles bought for the "representation of hir late Maieste" which was carried at her funeral in Westminster Abbey on 28th April, 1603, more than a month after her death. (Plate LXIII.) The entries in the accounts through careless folding of the quires by the binder are not in their right order, which apparently should be as follows :

John Colte | For the Representaçon of hir late Maiestie

Paied to the said John Colte for y^e Image reþsentyng
hir Late Maiestie wth diverse other things, viz a paire of straite
bodies, a paire of drawers, bumbast, iiij screwing Irons, & other
Irons, a payre of laste, lace & pointe, & also a Chest to cary y^e
same amounging in all to y^e sum of x^{li}

Summa—patet.

W ^m Marshall Item for making the Sabatons & quoif for the roiall representaçon of her late maiestie	v ^s
Item for the Crowne Septer & ball being all guilt w th fyne gold burnished the Crowne sett w th stones for y ^e said roiall repre- sentaçon	vj ^{li} xiijs ^s iiij ^d
Item for laying the coloure upon the chariott wher the royall Repre- sentaçon was caried	xxx ^s
Item for x yarde of crimson sattin to make a Robe for the representaçon at xvjs ^s the yard	viijs ^{li}
Item for xj yarde of white fustian to lyne the same Robe at xviii ^s the yard.	xvj ^s viij ^d

^a P. R. O. Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, Great Wardrobe, 3142.

^b P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 554.

Item for iij qrt of a yard of Cloth of gold for the Sabatons & the quoife for the same Representaçon at 1 ^s	xxxvijs ^s vjd
---	--------------------------

William Jones Paied to the said William Jones hir late Maiesties tayler for making the said Robe of Satten for the Royall Repre- sentaçon aforesaid	xiijs ^s iiij ^d
---	--------------------------------------

The "roiall representacion" described so minutely in these accounts ought to be one of the series exhibited, but there are good reasons for believing that the naked trunk of it which is described by the old writers was utilized for the restoration (see *post*) of Queen Elizabeth's effigy in 1760. In the present state of this figure it is difficult to see how the upper part is constructed, but the hips are still padded with "bombast," and the legs, which were cut down in 1760 to fit them into a pair of high-heeled boots, are certainly those of an older figure.

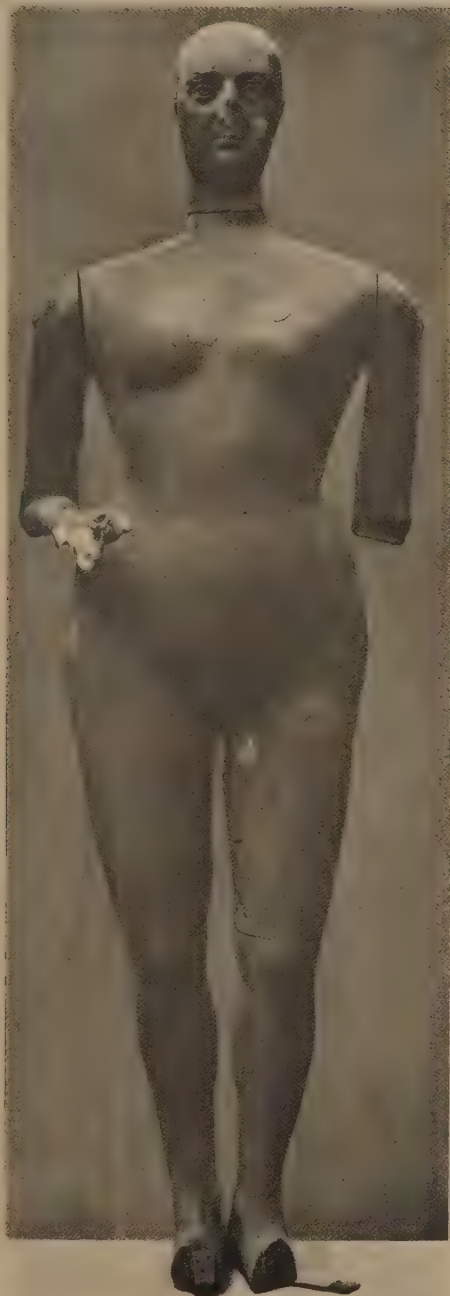
To the effigy of Queen Elizabeth probably belong the following loose pieces, which are also preserved with the other figures :

- i. A broken left foot ; the toes lost.
- ii. A forearm, with joint to elbow and a peg for the hand.
- iii. The upper part of a woman's left arm, bent at the elbow, and covered partly with fine satin, and towards the top with thicker satin, evidently portion of a dress.

VIII. Of the next figure to be noticed all that remains is a headless and massive wooden framework of fir, with a cross-piece for the shoulders, pinned on to a vertical body post, which is jointed in the middle. (Plate LXV.) To the ends of the cross-piece are fixed iron loops and pointed screws for suspending the arms. The arms themselves are lost. The legs are stiff, but jointed on to the lower end of the body post with wooden pegs. The feet were jointed at the toes, which are broken off. From the knees downwards the legs are beautifully modelled, and covered with white silk stockings with fine clocks.

The head is at present missing.

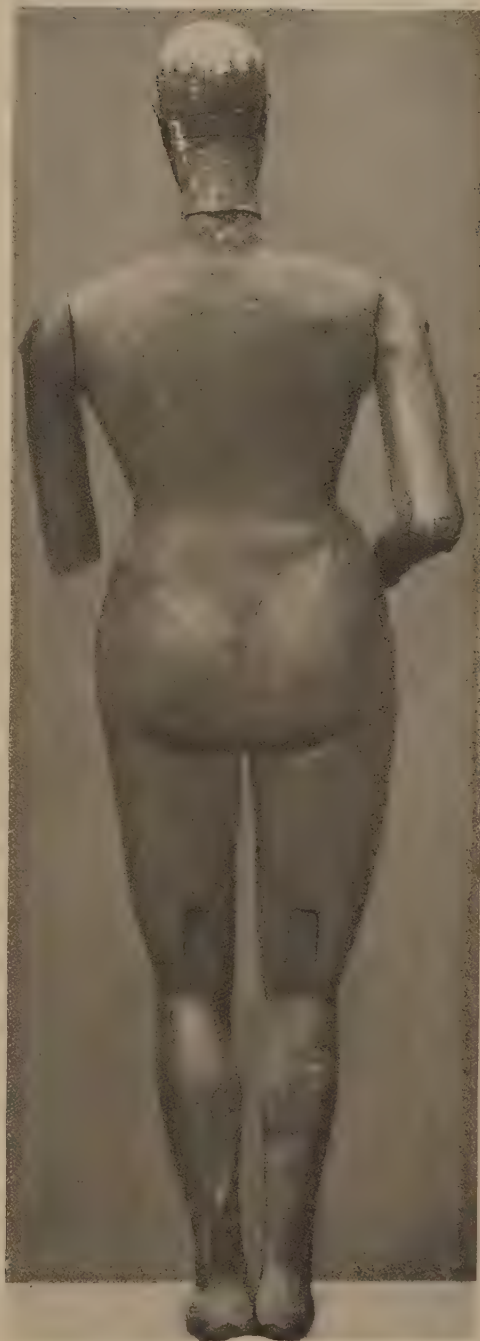
To this figure belong some interesting remains of the robes, including the canvas foundation of a padded doublet, lined with white (p) silk, and with remains of the silk covering, now colourless, but probably once red. One of the grey linen tabs is left on the left side. The lower edge is eyeletted all round for suspending



1



3



2

FUNERAL EFFIGIES OF QUEEN MARY, OBVERSE (1) AND REVERSE (2) AND QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK (3).

the trunk hose. The front has triangular stays with thirty-two button-holes. The sleeves are lost.

The serge or baize foundation of the trunk hose is also left, and was formerly covered with silk damask to match the doublet, and along the top are eleven brass hooks for attaching it thereto. Round the left leg are six loops and buttons for fastening it around the knee.

This seems to be identical with the figure of Henry, Prince of Wales (who died in 1612), the account for making which is preserved among the Lord Chamberlain's Records :^a

Worke done for the Funerall of the most
Noble Prince Henry deceased by Richard
Loons joyner to his Highnes.

Item for makinge the bodye of a figure for the rep ^s entation of His Highnes w ^t several joints both in the arms legges and bodie to be moved to sundrie accions first for the Carriage in the Chariot and then for the standinge and for settinge uppe the same in the Abbye with my attendance on the same work	ix li
To Abraham Vanderdort for the face and hands of the Princes representation being very curiouslie wrought price	x li

Another set of accounts^b gives the joiner's name more correctly as Richard Norrice :

Richard Norrice Joyner for a Coffine and representaçon with severall Joyntes in the Armes Legges and Body	xv. li
Abraham Vanderdorte for the face and handes of the Princes representaçon beinge very curiously wrought	x. li

IX. The next figure consists (i) of a wooden head and bust of a woman, with well-carved face (Plate LXII.), fixed on to a worm-eaten wooden post, and (ii) of a body, now loose, consisting of a canvas bag filled with tow, to which are attached the legs. These are well modelled, but much worm-eaten. (Plate LXIV.) The arms were suspended by iron loops at the shoulder and elbows, but only the upper part of the left arm is left. The feet are lost.

The body seems to have been attached to the trunk post by a large iron pin through the hips.

^a P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 555.

^b P. R. O. Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, Great Wardrobe, 3145.

According to the late Sir George Scharf, who examined the figure when it was more perfect than now, its height was 5 feet 8 inches.

Despite the mutilated condition of this effigy there can be no reasonable doubt that it is the one made for the funeral of Queen Anne of Denmark in 1619, by the father or the son of the John Colt who made the figure of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, which probably accounts for the similarity in the wording of the two accounts. Those relating to Queen Anne's effigy are as follows: ^a

Paid to Abraham Greene Serjant Plumber for the intombinge of the Royall Body of our late Sovereaign Lady Queene deceased w th lead and soder and for travaile and attendance of himselfe and servants for certaine daies at his Ma ^{ty} honor of Hampton Courte and for one greate vessell to putt in the Bowells and inwarde partes w ^{ch} were sent to Westminster Abbey and for Castinge of the Armes and Crowne of the late Queene deceased and progenie and for guildinge & payntinge of the Armes Crowne and Letters and for makeing and Carveing of the Mould for the Armes Crowne and lres of the same late Queene deceased and for store & workmanship preisse in gross	xx li
Paid to Maximilian Coutte Carver for makeing the representacon for Ironworke for the Joynts for a paire of Bodyes 2 paire of draweing hose and for bombast to fill them, for a Chest to carry the picture to Denmarke House and for Carriage of it and for makeing a Copper plate w ^t writeing graven upon it to be fastened upon the Coffin and alsoe for makeinge of a mould to mould divers shields w ^t the Kings & Queenes Armes in them w ^{ch} hath been employed about the Hearse preisse in gross	xvj li
Paied to John Derwitts for guilding and silvering a great Lyon a Unicorne and ij wild men to stand on the iiij ^{or} Columns of the hearse, the Lyon at Ls. the Unicorne and ij wild men at xxxs the peece	vij ⁱ
Item for dyvers tymes painting the Royall Representacon	xxx ^s
Paid to John Smith for pforming a Roabe for the Royall Representacon	vj li

The items relating to the representation are given somewhat differently and with the names of the artists spelled more correctly in another set of accounts: ^b

Makeing the Representcon viz ⁱ to	} Maximillian Colte for makeinge the Representa^{con} wth Iron worke and other Chardges incident thereunto in full of xx^{li} xv^s vij^d demaunded xvj^{li}
---	--

John Smith for perfuminge^c a Roabe used at the ffunerall for the royall representa^{con} vj^{li}

^a P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 556.

^b P. R. O. Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, Great Wardrobe, 3145.

^c *Sic* for "performing."



1



3



2

FUNERAL EFFIGIES OF HENRY PRINCE OF WALES (1), KING JAMES I. (2), AND GENERAL MONCK (3).

Benjamyn Henshawe Silkeman for golde ffringes Tassells Ribbons and Silkes ymployed as followeth viz^t about a velvett Crimsin Cushion to lay under the Representaçon xliiv^s ij^d

John Decreete Sergeaunt Paynter for sondry sort^e of Painters worke by him donne viz Paintinge the Royall Representaçon Chariott and Atcheivem^ts xx^{li}

X. The last of the royal funeral effigies is, like that of Henry, Prince of Wales, a headless figure of a man, 5 feet 7 inches high, of fir wood, hollowed out at the back. A wooden peg for the head is fixed in the top. (Plate LXV.) The trunk is very roughly fashioned and has a piece chopped out in front for the point of the doublet. Here and there are traces of plaster padding. The arms were hung in canvas sockets, which are left, but the arms themselves are lost. The legs have been pegged on and held in place by (f later) iron straps. They are also carefully modelled and smoothed, and were covered with two pairs of stockings, the under of wool, the outer of silk. The latter are in good order with pretty clocks and back seams. On the right leg, which is loose, only the woollen stocking remains. The feet were modelled in gesso. The shoes are lost.

Around the left leg are very faint traces of the Garter.

This figure is undoubtedly that made for the funeral of King James I. in 1625, and its curious history is fully recorded in the accounts that relate to its making:^a

Paid to Maximilian Coult for making the body of the representacion with several joynts in the armes leggs and body to be moved to several postures and for setting up the same in Westminster Abbey and for his attendance there	x li
Item for ye face and hands of the said representacion being curiously wrought	x li
Item for the labour paines and expences of himself and his servants: and for stuff by him employed in and about the said service and his journey to Theobalds for the moulding of the King's face for ye better makeing of the premises upon special command	xvi ^s viij ^d
Item for making a representation suddenly to serve only at Denmarke house untill the funerall and for his attendance there at divers times	x li
Item for a plate of copper with an inscription fastened upon the breast of the leaden coffin	xl ^s
Item for a crowne of wood and a lyon upon it for his Ma ^{ty} s creast	xl ^s
Item for a shield with his Ma ^{ty} s armes a garter comptment and a Crowne upon it	xxx ^s

^a P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 557.

Item for a scepter and a gloabe for the Representation	xxvi ^s	vii ^d
Item for making a Crowne with Divers counterfeitt stonns on it	c ^s	
Item for painting the face and hands of the last representation	xc ^s	
Item for the makeing of a better crowne the former being broaken by the often removeing of the representation and for the gilding of the same being sett with divers stones	x ^{li}	
Sum	lvij ^{li}	iii ^s iii ^d

Daniel Parkes

For two Periwiggs.

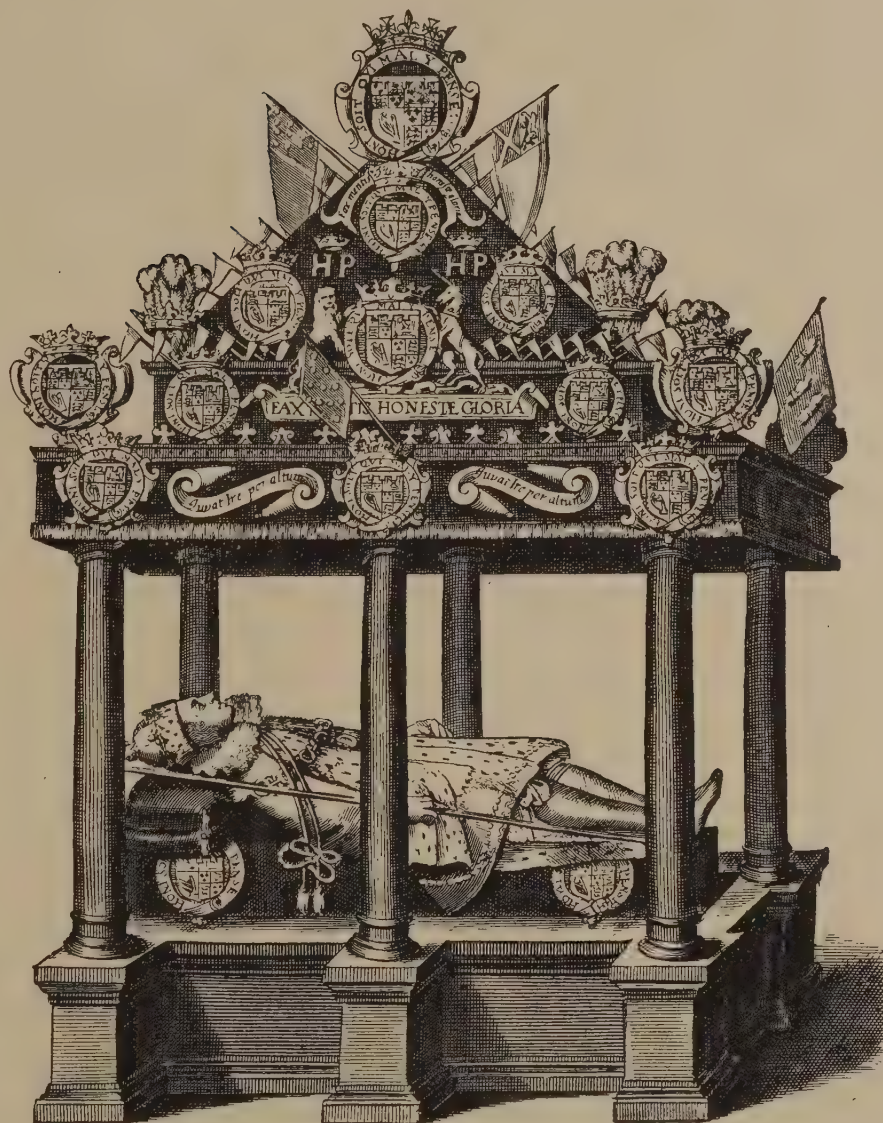
Paid to Daniel Parkes for makeing of one periwigg beard and eyebrows for the body at Denmark house	x ^{li}	
Item for one other periwigg and other beard and eyebrowes for the body which remaines in the Abbey of Westminster	x ^{li}	
Sum	xx ^{li}	

Another set of accounts^a of King James's funeral gives the items somewhat differently, and the name of the painter who painted the face of the representation :

Maximilian Colte carver for makeinge the body for the Representaçon w th severall Joyntē in the Armes legges and body to be moved to severall postures, the face and handes thereof beinge curiously wroughte, w th settinge upp the same in Westminster Abbey and for another Representacon suddenly to serve at Denmarkehouse w th a plate of Copper and an Inscription fastened to the bust of the leaden coffin a Crowne of wood and a Lyon upon it for his Ma ^{tes} ; Crest a sheild w th his Ma ^{tes} Armes, a Garter Compertim ^t and a Crowne upon it, a scepter and a Gloabe a Crowne w th diverse Counterfett stones upon it, and a better Crowne the former beinge broken w th often removeinge	lvij ^{li}	ii ^s	iii ^d
Danyell Parke for twoe Periwiggē Beardes and eybrowes for the Bodies the one at Denmarkehouse and the other at the Abbey at west- minster	xx ^{li}		
John Decrit Sergeaunte Painter for diverse woorkes by him donne for the saide ffunerall viz ^t payntinge the face of the Royall Representaçon			xl ^s

These accounts illustrate very clearly the manner in which these later royal effigies were fashioned, and the hiring of the hair explains why the heads are now bald.

^a P. R. O. Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, Great Wardrobe, 3145.



HERSE AND FUNERAL EFFIGY OF HENRY PRINCE OF WALES. (From Sandford's *Genealogical History*.)



HERSE OF KING JAMES I. WITH FUNERAL EFFIGY. (From Sandford's *Genealogical History*.)

There is one other curious point to be noticed, that it is evident from Coult's bill that the effigy before us can not be that which he set up in Westminster Abbey, since that had "several joynts in the armes leggs and body to be moved to several postures," like the one made for Prince Henry. This on the other hand is not hinged, and it must therefore be the representation made "suddenly to serve only at Denmark house untill the funerall." Its presence at Westminster can probably be accounted for by the reason assigned for the making of a new crown, "the former being broaken by the often removeing of the representation." The first effigy was therefore probably damaged through officious persons working its "several joynts" and moving it into "several postures,"^a and the other was brought in to replace it.

XI. In addition to the royal effigies there remains one other (Plate LXV.), that made for the state funeral of General George Monck, Earl of Torrington and Duke of Albemarle, in 1670, which has been so admirably illustrated in Sandford's published account of it.^b (Plate LXVIII.)

Until lately this figure was composed of sticks wrapped with hay, encased in pieces of armour, which had been filled up in part with plaster of Paris. The head is still a rough block of plaster, painted black.

The figure has lately been taken to pieces and remounted at the Tower of London under the direction of Viscount Dillon. It is encased in a full suit of armour,^c but the gauntlets are mutilated. Underneath is an old leather undress buff coat with leather ties, and now sleeveless. On the head is a gilt metal ducal coronet encircling a black cap of estate edged with dark brown fur.

To this figure probably also belong (i) an ermine cap, (ii) a wig, and (iii) a red leather belt with gilt buckles, etc.; all now loose.

The original state of the effigy is fully described in the warrant for its making issued to the Master of the King's Great Wardrobe:^d

^a We are indebted to Lord Dillon for this suggestion.

^b Francis Sandford, *The Order and Ceremonies Used for, and at the Solemn Interment of The most High, Mighty and most Noble Prince GEORGE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE, etc. 1670.*

^c The armour below the knees, according to Lord Dillon, is of a date before 1566-88, and therefore at least eighty years older than the rest on the figure.

^d P. R. O. Lord Chamberlain's Records, Series I. Vol. 576. Keepe, in his *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia*, says of this figure: "The Statue of the Duke of Albemarle, in compleat Armour, with his Parliament Robes as a Mantle covering them, with the Collar of the Order of St. George round his neck, a Battoon in his hand, and a Coronet on his head, is likewise placed in a Press of Wainscot further to remember him" (p. 95).

A Pall of vellvett
& other neces-
saries for y^e effi-
gies of the Duke
of Albemarle di-
rected to S^r Edw^d
Walker.

These are to signifie unto your Lords^{pp} his Ma^{ties} pleasure that you provide and deliver or cause to be provided and delivered unto S^r Edward Walker Knight Garter principall Kinge of Armes these particulars followinge for the layinge in state of his grace the duke of Albemarle at Denmarke House (viz^t) a Pall of Velvett of eight yards

longe and eight breadths lined with a sheete of ffine holland of eight breadths and eight ells long which is to be turned over the vellvett halfe a yarde or more to Lye upon the Bedd when the Corps are to be Laid And thereupon the representation to be laid the bed to be Compassed about with an outward Raile about ffive ffoot distant all the Posts and railes to be Covered with Velvett and alsoe that your Lords^{pp} give order for the prepareinge of the Effigies to be in Compleate Armour azured with guilt nailes and guirt with a Girdle of Crimson of vellvett with gold Lace the sword appendant thereat to have a Crosse hilt Guilt and against Chape This Representation to hold Guilt Baston of Copper in the Right hand and to be invested in a Ducall Roabe of Crimson vellvett, lyned Ermines, about the Necke a Collar and George of the Order of the Garter of Copper Guilt, and under the head a Cushion of Crimson vellvett with Gold ffringe and Tassells upon the head a Cap of Crimson vellvett turned up with Ermine with a Ducall Cornett of Copper Gilt, about the left Legge a garter of blew vellvett the buckles and Letters of Copper Gilt, A vellvett Carpett to Cover a narrow table on which the Helmett Crest &c. are to stand And this with his hand for the Receipt thereof shall be your Lord^{pp} Warr^t Given under my Hand this Eleaventh day of January, 1669 in the 24 yeare of his Ma^{ties} Rayne

MANCHESTER.

To the Right hono^{ble} Edward Earle of Sandwich
Master of his Ma^{ties} great Wardrobe and his Deputy there.

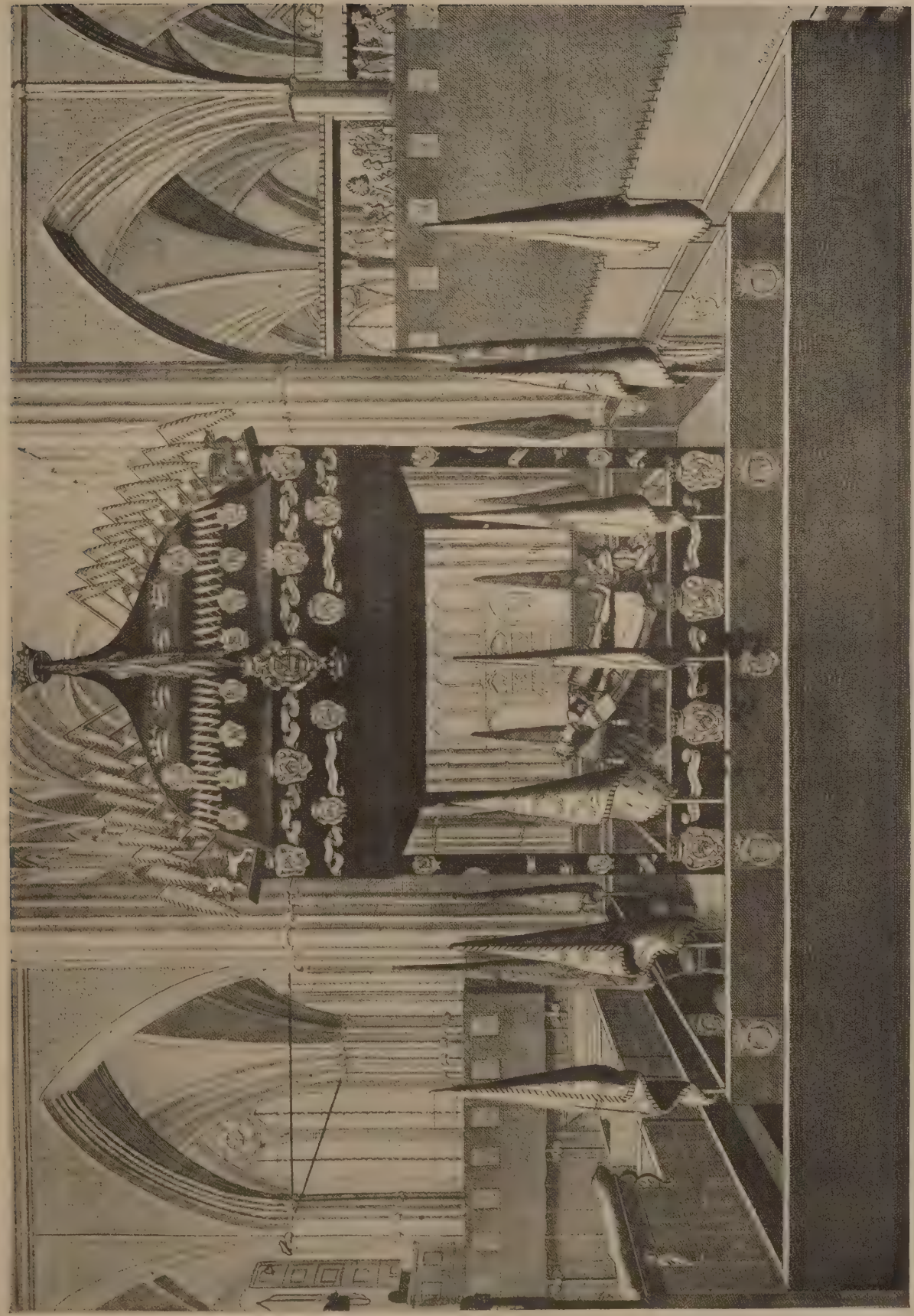
The following extracts from the appended accounts refer to the component parts of the representation :

1	Joseph Worwood Armourer Craveth Allowance as			
25 th of March	followeth viz ^t .			
1670	ffor one Suite of Armour Cap-a-pe cont ^d backe breast			
ffor the funerall	Helmet Poulderns Gantlets Culet Quishes, and	li	s	d
of the Duke of	Greaves	20	00	00
Albemarle.				

[signed by]

THO: TOWNESEND JUN LANCELOTT THORNTON SANDWICH,
AND: NEWPORT BULLEN REIMES.

2	Francis Walton Goldsmith Craves Allowances as			
March 25 ^o	followeth viz ^t .			
1670	ffor one Coronett of Copper richly gilt in Gold Coloured			
ffor the funerall	and enamelled at	07	00	00
of the Duke of	ffor one Collar of the order of Brasse richly gilt with			
Albemarle.	Colours at	09	00	00



HERSE OF GENERAL GEORGE MONCK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE, 1670. (From Sandford's *Order*, etc.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

ffor one Baston of Brasse richly gilt with gold at .	03	00	00
ffor the George to hange on to the Collar of the Order and Buckells of Brasse gilt with gold at .	04	00	00
	23	00	00

THO^s TOWNSEND JUN LANCELOT THORNTON

25 March '70 AND: NEWPORT

BULLEN REIMES

THOS. TOWNSEND Dep:

April 2 1670 10 ffor a Sword of the Order.	Edward Younger Cutler Craves allowance as ffolloweth viz ^t . ffor one Robe sword for the ffunerall of the Duke of Albemarle at	02	00	00
--	--	----	----	----

THOS: TOWNSEND JUN.

LANCELOTT THORNTON

BULLEN REYMES.

Aprillth 2 1670 12 ffor the Duke of Albemarles Effigies.	William Rutlish and George Pinkney Embroyderer Crave allowance as followeth viz ^t ffor a Garter of Pearle and Gold Buckles, and Pendant, wrought upon blewe velvett	01	09	00
---	---	----	----	----

Ordered to be paid.

Aprill 5 th 1670 17 ffor th Duke of Albemarle.	William Broadley Joyner Craveth allowance as followeth viz ^t ffor a false Coffin to Lay the Effigies of the Duke of Albemarle on in Somerset House 20 ^s	01	00	00
---	--	----	----	----

5 Ap: 70

THO: TOWNSEND JUN.

AND: NEWPORT

BULLEN REYMES

THO: TOWNSEND Dep.

April 5 1670 26 ffor a scarfe for the effigies.	Thomas Jones silkeman Craves Allowance as followeth viz ^t ffor 15 oz of gold ffringe at 5 ^d p oz.	03	15	00
---	---	----	----	----

Ordered to be paid.

Apr: th: 5 1670 26 The Duke of Albemarles Effigies.	John Bushnell Craves Allowance as followeth viz ^t ffor making the head and hand in wax for paintinge the same a Perriwigge of Haire to it And modellinge the whole body in Stucko and for my paines and servants and alsoe attendance in Dressinge and setting up the same in Westminster Abbey .	35	00	0
--	---	----	----	---

Ordered to be paid.

27 Apr: the 7 th 1670 27 ffor the Duke of Albemarle Effigies.	Joyce Hord Semstris Craveth Allowance as followeth viz ^t . ffor a Lace Cravatt and Lace Cuffes at	00	15	00
	Ordered to be paid.			
Apr: the 7 th 1670 30 ffor a scarfe. ffor sleeves for the Dukes Effigies.	Robert Clarkson Mercer Craveth Allowance as followeth viz ^t . ffor 2 elles $\frac{5}{8}$ of Crimson fflorence scarcenet at 11 ^s p ell ffor 1 y ^d $\frac{1}{2}$ of Crimson fflorence Sattin at 14 ^s p y ^d	li 01	s 08	d 10
	Ordered to be paid.	01	01	00
		02	09	10
Apr: the 4 th 1670 31. ffor the Effigies of his grace the Duke of Albemarle deceased.	John Allen his Maties Taylor Craveth Allowance as followeth viz ^t . ffor an oiled shamey wastcoate and breeches for the Effigies with all furniture ffor a paire of Longe Linnen Drawers to put under the breeches ffor making a Crimson Taffatie scarfe with a gold ffringe ffor a Large buffe skinne ffor makinge a paire of Sattin sleeves Lace with Gold lace and 4 great Buffe skirts and silke to them ffor ribbon to tye and binde the skirts ffor 6 ounces of Large Gold poyntinge Loope lace at 5 ^s p ounce ffor 2 Large gilded taggs to the Loopelace ffor 7 yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of gold Lace to the sleives at 6 ^s 3 ^d ffor three mens worke to order the Effigies	01 00 00	05 07 02	00 00 06
	Ordered to be paid.	03	00	00
		00	06	00
		00	03	00
		01	10	00
		00	08	00
		02	06	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
		00	05	00
		09	13	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
March 25 th 1670 33 ffor a Cusshion to Lye under the effigies head.	Samuell Howard Mercer Craves allowance viz ^t ffor 2 yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of Crimson 2 pile velvet at 26 ^s p y ^d .	03	05	00
	Ordered to be paid.			

Apr. 1670 81.	Abraham Downeinge his Mat ^{ies} Sergeant Skinner craves allowance as followeth viz ^t			
	ffor the ffurringe a Ducall Robe and Cap of Estate for the effigies of the Duke of Albemarle	15	00	00
	ffor makeinge a Ducall Cap of Crimson velv ^t with a rich gold Button and for furnishinge a Ducall Robe by way of Loane for the Bedde of Estate at Somersett house	05	00	00
	Sum totall	20	00	00
	THO: TOWNSEND JUNR.			
	LANCELOT THORNTON.	AND: NEWPORT.		
		5 May 70		
Aprill 1670 82.	Bartholomew Parsons his Mat ^{ies} Spurrier Craves Allowance viz ^t .			
	ffor one paire of rich gilt spurs for the Effigies of the Duke of Albemarle	00	10	00
	LANCELOT THORNTON. 5 May 70	AND: NEWPORT.		
No. 101. April 2 ^d 1670 For y ^e D. of Albemarles Funerall.	Phillipp Hanbury Milliner Craves allowance as followeth viz ^t			
For the Effigies.	For one paire of sadd coloured hose at 5 ^s	00	05	00
		00	05	00
	THO: TOWNSEND JUN.	BULLEN REYMES.		
	LANC: THORNETON.			
No. 103 To Tye the Effigies of the D. of Albemarle to y ^e Charriott.	Francis Warrington shoemaker Craves allowance as followeth viz ^t .			
	For 4 strapps of Neates leather Cutt through the whole Hyde	00	05	00
		00	05	00
	THO: TOWNSEND JUNIOR.	BULLEN REYMES.		
	LANC ^T : THORNETON.			

It will be seen that, setting aside the problematical figure in wax for King Henry III. and the later one for General Monk, these funeral effigies divide themselves into four groups.

The first, or medieval group, consists of figures carved out of a single block of wood, and hollowed out at the back, like the figures of King Edward III. and Queen Katharine of Valois. The recorded effigy of King Edward II. was probably of this type, and that of Queen Anne of Bohemia, of which only the head is left.

The next, or early Tudor group, is represented by the rigid stuffed or padded figures of Queen Elizabeth of York and King Henry VII.

The third, which is represented only by what may be Queen Mary's figure, is a survival of the medieval type, but with the arms jointed for convenience in dressing the effigy, and the legs made of separate pieces from the trunk.

The fourth group includes the three Stuart figures of Henry Prince of Wales, Queen Anne of Denmark, and King James I., all of which consisted of jointed frameworks with modelled heads. That of Queen Elizabeth is apparently of the same type, and both hers and Queen Anne's have padded hips to support the gowns.

Lastly, it may be of interest to inquire why and how these figures have come to be preserved at all. Probably in the first instance they were kept after the funeral to lay upon the grave until a proper monument could be prepared, a work that was not usually begun, as was Richard II.'s, in the king's lifetime. But there must be a reason why some have and others have not been preserved. This is possibly due to the manner in which they were clothed.

We have seen that the early tradition was for the king to be carried to the grave and buried in his coronation ornaments, and that this was certainly done as late as 1272 in the case of King Edward I. His son King Edward II. was as certainly buried in the linen vestments he wore at his anointing, while his coronation ornaments were used to deck his wooden funeral effigy. When this had served its purpose and the ornaments been returned to store, the effigy was reduced to such a wooden trunk as that of King Edward III. before you, and perhaps discarded. How Edward III.'s effigy was arrayed we do not yet know, but if it were in his robes of estate there would not be the same reasons for stripping it after the funeral as in the case of the more sacred and more precious coronation ornaments, and so the effigy would be kept intact. This suggestion as to King Edward III.'s figure, although not confirmed by his monumental effigy, which shows the coronation ornaments, is assisted by the fact that both Richard II. and Henry IV. are shown on their tombs in their robes of estate, and

we have seen that the figure carried at Henry V.'s funeral was so adorned, as was the silver-plated effigy on his tomb. In the later funerals of Edward IV. and of the Tudor sovereigns the robes of estate became the customary apparel for the "picture" or representation.

Why the fashion of having these images was dropped, and how far and for how long it was concurrently adopted and carried on in France, are questions that, owing to the length to which this paper has already run, must be for the present deferred.

THE WESTMINSTER TRADITION OF IDENTIFICATION.

By the Very Rev. JOSEPH ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Westminster.

HENRY KEEPE in his *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia* (p. 133 f.), published in 1682, says that in his time the upper part of Islip's Chapel was made use of "as a repository for those *Statues of our Kings, Queens, and Princes of the Bloud Royal*, which lay on their *Cenotaphs* when their Exequies were celebrated in this Church; being here preserved in their Robes of Estate with their Royal Habiliments and other Ensigns of Majesty, in Presses of Wainscote, viz. *Edward III., King of England, and Philippa his Queen, Henry V. and Queen Katherine, Henry VII. with Elizabeth his Queen, and Henry Frederick Prince of Wales*, in one Press, with *Queen Elizabeth, King James, and Queen Anne his wife*, in the other."

Keepe says nothing as to the condition of the figures, but the fact that seven were in one press suggests that they were huddled away as no longer fit to be displayed. This is borne out by Dart's description forty years later (I. 194-5). He says that "the antientest have escap'd best," and describes Edward III. as having a robe once of crimson velvet, but now like leather; Henry V., of whose figure he says, "I can't suppose it that carried at his Funeral; for that was made of tann'd Leather, but this is of Wood, as are all the old ones." The later he says were "of Stuff having the Heads only of wood, as Queen Elizabeth, who is entirely stripped." He further names James I., but of the rest he says that they are too mangled to identify.

We may assume, then, with probability that in 1683 all the figures (with the exception of Queen Elizabeth's, which was restored in 1760) were in much the same condition as at present, and that most of them were in the very press out of which they have now been taken.

Some rhymes quoted by Stanley from *The Mysteries of Love and Eloquence*

(p. 88) seem to show that the same figures were in the same place under the Commonwealth in 1658 :

Henry the Seventh and his fair Queen,
 Edward the First ^a and his Queen ;
 Henry the Fifth here stands upright,
 And his fair Queen was this Queen.
 The noble Prince, Prince Henry,
 King James's eldest son,
 King James, Queen Anne, Queen Elizabeth,
 And so this Chapel's done.

But I find among some newspaper cuttings collected by Dean Stanley the following verses, which appear to point to an earlier state of things :

Henry the Seventh lies here entomb'd, with his fair Queen beside him ;
 He was the founder o' this Chapel, Oh ! may no ill betide him ;
 And here they stand upright in a press, with their bodies made of wax,
 A globe and a wand in either hand, and their robes upon their backs.

The ballad is called "*The Tombs in Westminster Abbey*, as sung by Brother Popplewell, in the manner of chanting in a Cathedral."

We may conjecture that the royal effigies remained beside the royal tombs, or in other places of honour, until 1643. That was the year of the great havoc in which the altar over King Edward VI. was destroyed ; and it is not likely that the effigies of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York which stood hard by escaped insult. We can only wonder that so much was left of the royal figures as we see to-day, and that any one thought it worth while to gather the fragments together and store them up in presses in the Islip Chapel. We may wonder again that after their disfigurement there should remain any clear tradition as to their identification.

For we are fortunate in being able to carry back this tradition to the year 1606, when on the 4th of August King James brought King Christian of Denmark to see the Abbey.^b In our Treasurer's accounts for 1606 we have the following entry :

L libræ liberatæ magistro Decano ad faciendas stolas sive togas demissas et alia ornamenta pro statuis Regum et Reginarum in Ecclesia, in et erga adventum dominorum præpotentissimorum Regum in Ecclesiam : nempe nostri Regis Jacobi et Regis Danorum.

^a Probably an error for "Edward the Third."

^b The date is given by an entry in St. Margaret's Churchwardens' Accounts for that year : ' 1606. Item, paid the ringing when the King of Denmark came to the Abbey the 4th of August, ii^s vi^d.' J. E. Smith, *A Catalogue of Westminster Records* (London, 1900), 31.

This was an advance of £50 to the Dean for dressing the effigies; but the expense was much greater. At the end of the accounts is a long and interesting note by Dean Neile, the whole of which is worth attention. It is headed "Monuments," and runs as follows:

Imprimis, seaven statues of Kinges and Queenes; viz ^t of our late soveraigne Q. Elizabeth, of Henrie the seaventh and his Queene, Edwarde the third and his Queene, Henrie the fifth and his Queene; repayred, robed and furnished at the King's Majestie his charge	lxx ^{li}		
Item, the making of the presse(s) of wainscott in the which the statues do stand	ciii ^s	ix ^d	
Item, the Tombe of Queene Anne of Cleve finished, and a faire large marble stone laied of (<i>sic</i>) it, the charge whereof was . . .	vii ^l	iiii ^s	vii ^d
Item, the removing of Q. Elizabeth her bodie from under H. the vii th his Tombe to the place where her monument nowe standeth: charges	xlvi ^s	iiii ^d	
Item, the furnishing of the ii Convocacion howses for the Bishoppes and the rest of the Clergie	x ^{li}	v ^s	xi ^d
Item, the vault in which his Majesties younge daughter the ladie Sophia her grace was buried	xxvi ^s	iiii ^d	

I owe to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope the following interesting extract from the contemporary Order Book in the Public Record Office:

Veneris xxvij ^o die Novembris 1607.			
Deane of Westm ^r for repairing y ^e statues in Westm ^r . churche.	By order xxij ^o Martij 1606 To M ^r Doctor		
	Neale Deane of Westm ^r aswell the summe of		
	threescore twelve pounde twelve shillinge three		
	pence for repaying the Statues in the churche		
	of Westm ^r w th robes painting and other attire,		
	as also the summe of fiftie three pounde sixe		
	shillinge eight pence due to him and others of		
	the said Churche for the buriall of his highnes		
	daughter the la: Sophia . per breve datum xxix ^o		
	Nov. 1606. ^a		
	cxxv ^{li}	xviii ^s	xj ^d

^a Order Book (Pells), 1607-8, f. 40.

In a smith's bill for the same year we have this item :

For a key for a plate locke for the dore goinge into a littell roome where the queenes picture did stande.

The queen is probably Queen Elizabeth, and the little room may be that which we pass on the left as we go into the north aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel.

The only record of an earlier date that refers to these royal effigies is a patent granted by Dean Bill and the Chapter to William Jenkinson of

the office of chief vergerer or vergershipp and also to have the custodie and oversight of the Tombes and monimentes and of the pictures of kinges and quenes within all the saide church remaynyng.

It is dated 28th February, 1561, and is specially interesting as preserving the old designation of the effigies as "pictures."^a

To the seven effigies which were newly adorned for the visit of the King of Denmark in 1606 was added in 1612 the first which was not that of a king or a queen, and the first to be wilfully outraged. Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, immensely popular though he had been, was robbed of his rich robes three and a half years later.^b In 1619 Anne of Denmark, and six years later James himself came to complete the series of genuine funeral effigies of royal persons. General Monk's effigy in full armour (1670) was indeed carried in the old manner; but King Charles II. was buried without pomp, and his effigy may have been an afterthought to mark his grave, which had no other monument.^c The figures of William and Mary and Anne are simply waxworks made for show, when the members of the choir took the fees of the Royal Chapels and desired to add to their attractions. This we learn from an order of Dean Bradford in 1727, regulating the payments of new members in compensation of the large outlay of their predecessors.

Dukes and duchesses continued the tradition for a time. James's cousin,

^a Register E, f. 33. A similar patent was granted of a vergership on the same day to "Cuthbert Hindeson."

^b State Papers Domestic, 9th April, 1616.

^c Charles II.'s effigy stood over his grave in 1723 (Dart, i. 151); General Monk's was at the west end of Queen Elizabeth's tomb (Keepe, 95; Dart, *ut supra*).

Ludovic Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox (died 1624), together with his duchess (died 1639), stood in a press near their monument in Henry VII.'s Chapel when Keepe wrote in 1683: but in Dart's time the press was nailed up, as the figures were no longer fit to be shown.^a

Another Duchess of Richmond, the beautiful duchess of Charles II.'s time, Frances Teresa, stood by her own request under the east window of Henry VII.'s Chapel, in a press with her favourite parrot. She died in 1702, and ordered that her effigy should be dressed in the robes which she had lately worn at the coronation of Queen Anne. A curious confusion was made by Dart and later writers between her and the Lady Mary, sister of Esme Stuart, who was never Duchess of Richmond, but became Countess of Arran, and is not buried in the Abbey.

The last duchess is the widow of Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, who died in 1743, and stands with her little boy of three years beside her. Edmund, her last surviving son and the last duke of the name, had died in 1735; his effigy is a striking one, and is alone in being in a recumbent posture.

Strange to say, this last effigy was placed in the Confessor's Chapel, where it remained until 1836, if not later.^b The two duchesses, the one with the parrot and the other with the boy, stood in their presses in 1823 against the middle of the entrance to the north transept on the inside.^c

On 3rd June, 1760, in preparation for the bicentenary celebration of Queen Elizabeth's foundation, a Chapter order was passed permitting the choir to make the existing effigy of the great queen. Internal evidence seems to show that the old figure served as the foundation of the new one. In 1779 came the effigy of Lord Chatham, to be followed in 1805 by Lord Nelson, both alike the outcome of commercial speculation.

Some twenty years later the system which had produced these results was abolished, and the choir were paid fixed stipends. On 26th May, 1841, at the end of Dean Ireland's time, when Lord John Thynne was sub-dean, an order was passed in Chapter for the removal of the wax effigies to the Consistory Court under the south-west tower, but no action appears to have been taken.

^a Keepe, 102; Dart, i. 161.

^b See the guide books, *Historical Description of Westminster Abbey*, Newbery, 1754, p. 96; Newman, 1836, p. 44.

^c Neale and Brayley, ii. 29.

We have in conclusion to express our thanks to Viscount Dillon for his extracts from the funeral accounts, to Sir Alfred Scott-Gatty, Garter Principal King of Arms, for his kindness in allowing access to the records of the royal burials in the library of the Heralds' College, and to the Special Committee for the use of their descriptive notes.

P.S.—The illustrations of the funeral effigies, except that of General Monck, which is from a photograph by Sir Benjamin Stone, M.P., F.S.A., are from photographs specially taken by Mr. Thomas J. Wright, clerk of the works at the Abbey.



STONEHENGE AS SEEN FROM A WAR BALLOON.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.



STONEHENGE AS SEEN FROM A WAR BALLOON.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1907.

XXIII.—*Photographs of Stonehenge, as seen from a War Balloon. Communicated
by Colonel J. E. CAPPER, R.E.*

Exhibited 6th December, 1906.

THE accompanying illustrations (Plates LXIX. and LXX.) were recently taken from a war balloon by Lieut. P. H. Sharpe, R.E., and represent Stonehenge from a point of view from which that famous monument has probably never before been photographed.

The photographs give a very complete record of the stones in their present position and of the paths leading to them. They also illustrate in a remarkable and unique manner the relative positions of the stone circles and the accompanying earthworks.

INDEX.

A.

- Abergavenny (Wales), effigy at, 34
 Acheiropoietos, monastery of (Cyprus), treasure found near, 1
 Adam, abbot of Croxton, 97, 99
 Alabaster figure of the Virgin found at Flawford (Notts.), 31
 Alard, Gervase, effigy of, 27
 Aldborough (Yorks.), brass at, 28
 Aldeburgh, William, brass to, 28
 Alisaunder, Thomas, churchwarden of St. Margaret Pattens, 368
 Allen, John, tailor, accounts of, 562
 Almeries for relics, arrangement of, in various cathedral and monastic churches, 412-420; stone, in Gloucester cathedral church, 415, 416, 417, Winchester cathedral church, 414, 415; wooden, in St. Alban's abbey church (Herts.), 418, 420, Selby abbey church (Yorks.), W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., on, 411, Wensley church (Yorks.), 413
 Alnoth, the *ingeniator*, 145, 146
 Altars, Roman, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 117; Silchester, (Hants.), winged, 163
 Althryda, Princess, 388
 Alvechurch (Worc.), effigy at, 30
 Amber objects: beads from Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 335, 339, 341, 342, 343, 345, 346, Mitcham (Surrey), 52, 58; object, from Arras (Yorks.), 303; rings, from Arras (Yorks.), 262, 276, 297
 Ambresbury Priory (Wilts.), death and burial of Queen Eleanor of Provence at, 543
 Amiens Cathedral (France), sculptures on, 379 380, 382, 383, 385, 387
 Ammius, name of Roman potter, 187
 Amphoræ, gold pendants in the form of, found in Cyprus, 3
 Analyses: of pewter vessels found at Caerwent (Mon.), 460; of Roman mortar found in London, 249
 Anderlecht (Belgium), painted glass at, 427
 Angels, figures of, on a crosier, 468, 470, 471
 Angers (France), burial of Queen Margaret of Anjou at, 545
 Animal remains: found at Arras (Yorks.), 265, 279, 280, 284; Caerwent (Mon.), 121, 123, 126, 127, 130, 458, 460, 462, 463, 464; Danes graves (Yorks.), 258, 265, 277, 304; Grimston, North (Yorks.), 258; Hunmanby (Yorks.), 311; Ipswich (Suff.), 341, 344, 350; London, 175, 179, 190, 194, 202, 210, 216, 233, 237, 238, 245; Mitcham (Surrey), 58; Silchester (Hants.), 156, 165, 448, 449
 Anjou, Margaret of, Queen of Henry VI., death and burial of, 545
 Anklet, bronze, found at Arras (Yorks.), 275
 Annunciation, the, on a crosier, 471; on a jewel, 484
 Anstruther-Gray, Major William, 104
 Appleshaw (Hants.), Roman pewter vessels found at, 462
 Arausio (Orange, France), 47
 Architectural remains: Græco-Phœnician, from Cerro de los Santos (Spain), 73, 74; medieval, from Westminster Palace, 139; Roman, from Caerwent (Mon.), 117, 122,

Architectural remains—*continued*.

124, 126, 127, 129, 456, 457, 458, London,
237, Silchester (Hants.), 151, 158, 161,
163

Armlet, *see* Bracelet

Arms and armour: armour on funeral effigy of

Monck, George, Duke of Albemarle, 559;
arrow-head, iron, found in London, 246;
halbert head, iron, found in London, 246;
shield bosses and fittings, bronze, found at
Arras (Yorks.), 281, 282, Grimthorpe
(Yorks.), 258, 312, Hunmanby (Yorks.),
312, iron, found at Arras (Yorks.), 281,
Ipswich (Suff.), 327, 330, 331, 339-343,
345, 347, 349, 351, Mitcham (Surrey), 54,
58, 59; spear-heads, iron, found at Caer-
went (Mon.), 125, Cerro de los Santos
(Spain), 74, Grimthorpe (Yorks.), 258,
312, Ipswich (Suff.), 327, 329, 330, 338-
352, Mitcham (Surrey), 53, 54, 57, 58, 59;
swords, iron, found at Grimston, North
(Yorks.), 258, 262, Grimthorpe (Yorks.),
in bronze sheath, 258, 262, 312, Mitcham
(Surrey), 53, 55, 58, 59, Stanwick
(Yorks.), in bronze sheath, 288, Thorpe
(Yorks.), with enamelled bronze handle
fittings, 258, 262

Arragon, Katherine of, Queen of Henry VIII.,
death and burial of, 546

Arras (Yorks.), cemetery of the Early Iron Age
at, 254, 255, 262, 275; amber objects
from, 262, 276, 297, 303; animal remains
from, 265, 279, 280, 284; barrows of the
Bronze Age in, 275; bronze objects from,
262, 267, 275, 281, 282, 283, 285, 297-303;
bronze and coral objects from, 297, 298;
chalk objects from, 262, 276, 302; chariot
burials in, 262, 276, 279, 281, 284; deer's
horn object from, 283; glass objects from,
262, 276, 296, 300; gold object from, 262,
276, 299; human remains from, 279, 281,
284, 296, 301, 307; iron and iron bronzed
objects from, 276, 279, 280-282, 284-286,
294, 298, 299; jet object from, 303; the

Arras—*continued*.

"King's" barrow, 279; pottery from,
264, 276; the "Queen's" barrow, 295

Arrow-head, iron, found in London, 246

Arundel, Earl of, 95

ASHBY, T., D.Litt., F.S.A., on excavations at
Caerwent (Mon.), on the site of the
Romano-British city of Venta Silurum in
1905, 111; in 1906, 451

Ashton, Rev. J. F., 42

Assissi, Bishop of, 396

Athens, inscribed stele from, found in London,
44

Athos Mount, psalter at, 7

Atwood, Rev. Henry A. S., 40

Audeley, Hugh, Earl of Gloucester, 36; Mar-
garet, 36

Axe-heads, bronze, miniature, found at Arras
(Yorks.), 303; iron, found at Ipswich
(Suff.), 330, London, 246

Axholme, Isle of, 96

Aylesford (Kent), cemetery of the Early Iron
Age at, and pottery from, 252, 253;
chancery proceedings concerning a vicar
of, 360

Ayliffe, Sir Joseph, account of the opening of
the tomb of Edward I. by, 530

B.

Baldok, Thomas, churchwarden of Upchurch
(Kent), chancery proceedings by, 369

Baldwin of London, chaplain of St. Stephen's
Chapel, 142

Ballindalloch (Scotland), supposed chariot burial
found at, 291

Bamberg (Germany), sculpture at, 386

Bamfylde, Richard de, rector of Thorverton
(Devon), 409

Barboure, Sir William, priest, chancery pro-
ceedings by, 359

Bartolot, Thomas, 364

Basil II., psalter of, 7, 8

- Bath (Somerset), 94; use of voussoir tiles in the Roman baths at, 444
- Bavaria, Margaret of, Countess of Hennegau and Holland; 426
- Bawit (Egypt), frescoes at, 18
- Bayeux tapestry, death and burial of King Edward the Confessor represented on, 518; Westminster Palace represented on, 132
- Baynton, Sir Edward, grant of Stanley Abbey to, 494, 495
- Beads: amber found at Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 335, 339, 341, 342, 343, 345, 346, Mitcham (Surrey), 52, 58; crystal, found at Ipswich, 335, 338, 340, 341, 346; glass, found at Arras (Yorks.), 262, 276, 296, 300, Cowlam (Yorks.), 256, 262, 296, Danes Graves (Yorks.), 262, 272, 300, Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 335, 338-350, 352, Mitcham (Surrey), 53, 54, 55, 58; gold found in Cyprus, 2; jet, found at Arras (Yorks.), 303, Hessleskew (Yorks.), 301; paste found at Ipswich (Suff.), 335, 341, 342, 346, Mitcham (Surrey), 58; plasma, with pearls, found in Cyprus, 2; pottery, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 339, Mitcham (Surrey), 52
- Beauchamp, Isabel, 34; Thomas, Earl of Warwick, effigy and tomb of, 28, 34; figure of, on the Hastings brass, 33; William, Earl of Warwick, 34
- Beaulieu Abbey (Hants.), 512
- Beaumont, Henry, Lord Beaumont, 33; Isabel, 33
- Bec, abbey of, grant to, 404
- Beckley (Oxon.), bronze brooch found at, 268
- Bedford, 95
- Bek, Thomas, bishop of St. David's, 491
- Beke, Sir Robert, vicar of Eynsford (Kent), chancery proceedings by, 358
- Bellarmines, stoneware, found in London, 242
- Belt fittings, bronze, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 349, 352, Mitcham (Surrey), 52, 54; iron, found at Mitcham, 55
- Benefices, consolidation of, 408
- Berengaria, Queen of Richard I., effigy of, 543
- Berham, Nicholas, churchwarden of Wadhurst (Sussex), chancery proceedings by, 367
- Berkelay, Edward, 364
- Berkeley Castle (Glouc.), death of Edward II. at, 530
- Bermondsey Abbey (Surrey), death of Queen Katherine of Valois in, 545
- Berri, Duc de, representation of, at dinner, 429
- Berry Narbor, church of, 404
- Berry Pomeroy (Devon), grant of rents in, 404
- Beverley (Yorks.), cemetery of the Early Iron Age at, 256; chariot burial found at, 262, 278; suggested as the chief town of the Parisi, 254
- Beverley, Richard of, 527, 531 *n*
- BIDDER, HAROLD F., on excavations in a Saxon burial ground at Mitcham (Surrey), 49
- Bigot, Roger, 95
- Bill, William, Dean of Westminster, patent granted by, 568
- Bindon Abbey (Dorset), 499
- Birdlip (Glouc.), interment with bronze mirror and other objects found at, 294
- Birthright of the poor, 391
- Bits, iron, found at Arras (Yorks.), 282, bronze coated, 281, 285; Beverley (Yorks.), 278; Danes Graves (Yorks.), bronze coated, 278; Hamden Hill (Somerset), 290; Hunmanby (Yorks.), bronze coated, 311; Hunsbury (Northants.), bronze coated, 290; Ipswich (Suff.), 349; Rise (Yorks.), bronze coated and enamelled, 281; Stanwick (Yorks.), 288
- Blanchfront family, effigy of a member of, 30
- Blois, Henry de, bishop of Winchester, tomb of, 521; Isabel of, Countess of Penthievre, 423, 427, badge of, 427, leather knife case made for, 427, 428, motto of, 427, pendant with monogram of, 427; Oliver of, Count of Penthievre, 427
- Blois (France), burial of Queen Isabel of France at, 544; tomb of the Duchess of Orleans in the church of the Cordeliers at, 428

- Bohemia, Anne of, Queen of Richard II., death and burial of, 544; funeral effigy of, 549, 564
- Bohun, Humphrey de, Earl of Hereford, 544; Mary de, 544
- Bois de Vincennes (France), death of Henry V. at, 535
- Bone objects: combs found at Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 336, 339, 345, London, 205, 245, Mitcham (Surrey), 55; pin polishers, found in London, 205, 245; pins, found at Grimthorpe (Yorks.), 258, London, 235; skates, found in London, 205, 245
- Book-cover, ivory, of the Princess Melisenda, 7, 18
- Bosses, bronze, found at Arras (Yorks.), 281, 282
- Boston (Lincs.), 96
- Bosworth Field, battle of, 538
- Bothe, John, scrivener, 418
- Botry, William, accounts of, for garments for a funeral effigy, 551
- Bourchier, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, tomb of, 414
- Bourgueville, Charles de, Sieur de Bras, account of the opening of the tomb of William the Conqueror by, 520
- Bracelets: bronze, found at Arras (Yorks.), 262, 275, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, Cambridge, 268, Cowlam (Yorks.), 256, 262, 302, Danes Graves (Yorks.), 258, 259, 262, 271, 300; gold, found in Cyprus, 3; iron, found at Arras (Yorks.), bronze coated, 298, 299, Danes Graves (Yorks.), 262, 269, 271; jet, found in Danes Graves (Yorks.), 258, 262, 272
- Bradford (Wilts.), 94
- Brady, Robert, description of the Wash by, 102
- BRAKESPEAR, HAROLD, F.S.A., on the Cistercian Abbey of Stanley, Wiltshire, 493
- Bramber (Sussex), grant to the church of St. Nicholas at, 404
- Bramley (Hants.), discovery of a Roman road at Latchmere Green near, 167
- Braose, William de, grant by, 404
- Brasses, monumental, at Aldborough (Yorks.), 28; Elsing (Norf.), 25; Pebmarsh (Essex), 28; Trotton (Sussex), 42; Wimbish (Essex), 26; to Creke, Sir John, 28; D'Abernoun family, 27, 28
- Brass and latten objects: crosier heads, found at St. Davids (Wales), 466, 488; needles found in London, 246; pins, found in London, 205, 246; squirt, found in London, 246; wire, found in London, 205
- Bremyngham, Thomas, 371, 373
- Brescia, ivory casket at, 18
- Brice, Hugh, payments to, 537
- Brick, stamped, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 124
- Bridlington (Yorks.), bronze brooches found near, 269
- Briquet or strike-a-light, a badge of Burgundy, 424, 425
- Brislington (Somerset), Roman pewter jug found at, 462
- Bristol (Glouc.), 94
- British Museum, ivory book cover of the Princess Melisenda in, 7, 18; psalter in, 9; table-knives made for John the Intrepid, Duke of Burgundy in, 423, 424
- Briweton, grant to the brethren of the church of, 397
- Broadley, William, joiner, accounts of, 561
- Broadley, William Harrison, 255
- Brock, Loftus, account of a portion of the Roman wall of London by, 194, 210
- Bromham (Wilts.), house at, 495
- Bronze Age, barrows of, at Arras (Yorks.), 275
- Bronze objects: anklet, found at Arras (Yorks.), 275; axe-head, miniature, found at Arras, 303; belt fittings, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 349, 352, Mitcham (Surrey), 52, 54; bosses, found at Arras (Yorks.), 281, 282; bracelets, found at Arras, 262, 275, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, Cambridge, 268, Cowlam (Yorks.), 256, 262, 302, Danes Graves (Yorks.), 258, 259, 262, 271, 300; brooches, found at Arras (Yorks.), 267,

Bronze objects—*continued*.

297, 301, with coral decoration, 297, Beckley (Oxon.), 268, Bridlington (Yorks.), 269, Caerwent (Mon.), 453, Cambridge, 268, Carmona (Spain), 89, Cerro de los Santos (Spain), 74, Cowlam (Yorks.), 256, 267, Craigie (Scotland), 270, Danes Graves (Yorks.), 266, 267, 268, 305, with paste decoration, 267, Denia (Spain), 89, Despeñaperros (Spain), 88, 89, France, with coral decoration, 297, Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 332-335, 338-343, 345, 346, 349, 350, Mátaró (Spain), 89, Mitcham (Surrey), 52, 53, 55, 58, 59, Stanley Abbey (Wilts.), 515, of the La Tène type, 267; buckles, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 336, 337, 339-341, 343, 344, 346, 348-350, 352, Mitcham (Surrey), 52, 54, 57; claw of lion, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 455; discs, found at Arras (Yorks.), 283, Danes Graves (Yorks.), 278; girdle pendant, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 345; handle of vessel, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 122; images, from Southern Spain, 83, 84, 85; jugs or ewers, found in Cyprus, 23; key, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 329; lamps, found in Cyprus, 23; mirrors, 294, 295; ornaments, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 336, wheel-shaped, found at Hessleskew (Yorks.), 301; pendant, found at Arras (Yorks.), 298; pins, found at Danes Graves (Yorks.), 270, with coral decoration, 269, Hammersmith (Middsx.), with coral decoration, 270; rings, found at Arras (Yorks.), 298, 299, 301, 302, 303, Caerwent (Mon.), 126, Danes Graves (Yorks.), 278, Hamden Hill (Somerset), 290, Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 336, 338, 346, 352; rings, finger, found at Mitcham (Surrey), 52, 54, Plymouth (Devon), 299; rods, found at Mitcham (Surrey), 55, 57; shield fittings, found at Arras (Yorks.), 281, 282, Grimthorpe (Yorks.),

Bronze objects—*continued*.

258, 312, Hunmanby (Yorks.), 312; sphinx, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 126; statuettes, found at Cerro de los Santos (Spain), 74; sword handle, found at Grimston, North (Yorks.), 258; sword sheath, found at Grimthorpe (Yorks.), 258; torcs, found at Arras (Yorks.), 275, Hessleskew (Yorks.), 301; tubing, found at Arras (Yorks.), 283, Danes Graves (Yorks.), 262, 272, 300, Grimston, North (Yorks.), 258; tweezers, found at Arras (Yorks.), 298, 299; votive, found at Cerro de los Santos (Spain), 74, Despeñaperros (Spain), 69, 85, 86, 87; whip fittings, found at Arras (Yorks.), 285

Brooches: bronze, found at Arras (Yorks.), 267, 297, 301, with coral decoration, 297, Beckley (Oxon.), 268, Bridlington (Yorks.), 269, Caerwent (Mon.), 453, Cambridge, 268, Carmona (Spain), 89, Cerro de los Santos (Spain), 74, Cowlam (Yorks.), 256, 267, Craigie (Scotland), 270, Danes Graves (Yorks.), 266, 267, 268, 305, with paste decoration, 267, Denia (Spain), 89, Despeñaperros (Spain), 88, 89, France, with coral decoration, 297, Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 332-335, 338-343, 345, 346, 349, 350, Mátaró (Spain), 89, Mitcham (Surrey), 52, 53, 55, 58, 59, Stanley Abbey (Wilts.), medieval, 515, of the La Tène type, 267; iron, found at Arras (Yorks.), 276, Danes Graves (Yorks.), 266, 268, 269, 300, 304, Monifieth (Scotland), 270, Moredun (Scotland), 270, of the La Tène type, 267; tin found in London, 238

Broun, Sir John, vicar of Wadhurst (Sussex), 367; William, parish clerk of Wadhurst, 367

Brunswick, effigy at, 32

Bruyn, William, 361

Bucket, wooden, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 130, 462

- Bucket fittings, iron, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 462; Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 342
- Buckinghamshire, Duke and Duchess of, funeral effigies of, 569
- Buckles, bronze, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 336, 337, 339-341, 343, 344, 346, 348-350, 352, Mitcham (Surrey), 52, 54, 57; iron, found at Ipswich, 329, 331, 343, 345, 346, 347, 350, 351, 352, Mitcham, 52, 53, 55, 58, 59
- Buildwas Abbey (Salop), 499
- Bullen, Anne, Queen of Henry VIII., burial of, 547
- Burghersh, Bartholomew, Lord Burghersh, 35; Elizabeth, 35
- Burgh-on-Sands (Cumb.), death of Edward I. at, 528
- Burgundy, arms of, 426; badge of, 424, 425
- Burgundy, Dukes of, *see* John the Intrepid; Philip the Good
- Bury St. Edmunds (Suff.), burial of Mary Tudor, Duchess of Suffolk at, 548
- Bushnell, John, accounts of, for a funeral effigy, 561
- Buskins, brocade, of William of Waynfleet, bishop of Winchester, 466, 486; description of, 487
- Byland Abbey (Yorks.), 512
- Byne, James, 364

C.

- Caen (France), burial of William the Conqueror in the church of St. Stephen at, 520
- Caerleon (Mon.), the second legion stationed at, 47, 124
- Caerwent (Mon.), excavations at, on the site of the Romano-British city of Venta Silurum, T. ASHBY, D. Litt., F.S.A., on, in 1905, 111; in 1906, 451; altar, uninscribed, from, 117; animal remains from, 121, 123, 126, 127, 130, 458, 460, 462, 463, 464; architectural

Caerwent—*continued.*

- remains from, 117, 122, 124, 126, 127, 129, 456, 457, 458; bath at, 120; block KN, 451; bronze objects from, 122, 126, 453, 455; clay statuette of Venus from, 121; coins from, 112, 114, 120, 122, 125, 126, 127, 129, 453, 456, 458, 460; counterfort at, 117; drains at, 112, 113, 122, 125, 126, 127, 452, 456, 457; glass from, 127, 455, 462; hearths or furnaces at, 123, 124, 126, 457, 460; house No. VIIIN, description of, 451, No. IXN, 118, No. XIIIN, 118, No. XIIIIN, 123, No. XIVN, 125, No. XVN, 127, No. XVIIN, 128; human remains from, 126, 130; hypocausts at, 453, 455, 456, 457, 458; iron objects from, 122, 125, 126, 458, 459, 462; Kimmeridge shale objects from, 125; leather objects from, 123, 127, 130; mosaic pavements at, 119, 128, 451, 456, 457, 459; pewter vessels from, 459, 460, 462; pits at, 123, 124, 126, 127, 128, 456; plan showing discoveries to 1905, 130, to 1906, 464; plant remains from, 123, 130, 463; pottery from, 120, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 130, 453, 455, 458, 459, 462; roadways at, 113, 122, 129; shells from, 455, 458, 460, 464; stamped brick from, 124; south gate of, 111; threshold stones at, 121, 452, 455, 456, 461; tiles, roof, 117, voussoir, 116; tinned spoon from, 458; wall plaster from, 121, 452, 453, 455, 456, 457, 459, inscribed, 119, 128, 129; wells, stone lined, at, 122, 129, 462; wooden objects from, 130, 462; woven fabric from, 460
- Calder Abbey (Cumb.), 499
- Calstone, Thomas, abbot of Stanley, 494
- Cambridge, 95, 96; interment and bronze objects found at Newnham, 268
- Camden, William, description of the Wash by, 101
- Camoys, Margaret de, brass of, 42
- Canterbury, Christchurch or the cathedral church, arrangement for almeries for relics in,

Canterbury—*continued*.

- 414, 417; burial of Henry IV. in, 535;
burial of Queen Joan of Navarre in, 545;
glass decoration used in the chapter-house
of, 42; painted glass in, 384
- Canute, King, residence of, at Westminster, 131
- CAPPER, Col. J. E., R.E., communicates photo-
graphs of Stonehenge, as seen from a war
balloon, 571
- Carew, Richard of, bishop of St. Davids, grave
of, 490
- Carmona (Spain), bronze brooches found at, 89
- Carpenter, John, parson of Compton Bassett
(Wilts.), chancery proceedings by, 378
- Carrington, J. B., 465
- Carrowe, Sir William, 376
- Carving in ancient times, 430
- Cases or sheaths, leather, for table knives, 423,
424, 425, 427, 428, 430
- Casket, ivory, at Breschia, 18; in the Kircherian
Museum at Rome, 5, 7, 18
- Castile, Eleanor of, Queen of Edward I., death
and burial of, 543
- Cástulo (Spain), 70, 85, 91
- Cawthorne Camps (Yorks.), chariot burial found
at, 288
- Celsa, coin struck at, 75
- Cemeteries of the Early Iron Age, at Arras
(Yorks.), 254, 255, 262, 275, Aylesford
(Kent), 252, Beverley (Yorks.), 256,
Cowlam (Yorks.), 256, 262, Danes Graves
(Yorks.), 254, 258, 259, Essex, 252, Grim-
ston, North (Yorks.), 258, Grimthorpe
(Yorks.), 256, Scarborough (Yorks.), 256,
Shoebury (Essex), 252, Yorkshire, 251;
Saxon, at Ipswich (Suff.), 325, Mitcham
(Surrey), 49
- Cerro de los Santos (Spain), history of, 74;
temple at, and objects found in and
around, 72, 74, 75
- Chain, gold, found in Cyprus, 11, Silchester
(Hants.), 163; iron, found at Ipswich
(Suff.), 349, 352
- Chalices, silver, found at St. Davids (Wales),
466; description of, 489, 491
- Chalk objects: spindle whorls, found at Arras
(Yorks.), 262, 276, 302, Danes Graves
(Yorks.), 262, 272, 303; of unknown use,
found at Silchester (Hants.), 163
- Chaluz (France), death of Richard I. at, 524
- Chancery proceedings illustrating clerical life in
the fifteenth century, C. TRICE MARTIN,
B.A., F.S.A., on, 353; use of fictitious
names in, 353-355
- Chandos, Sir John, 28
- Chantepleure, used as a badge, 427, 428
- Chaper, John, 363
- Chariot burials, found at Arras (Yorks.), 262,
276, 279, 281, 284; Beverley (Yorks.),
256, 262, 278; Cawthorne Camps (Yorks.),
288; Danes Graves (Yorks.), 262, 276,
277, 278; France, 291, 292, 299; Hamden
Hill (Somerset), 290, Hunmanby (Yorks.),
311; Hunsbury (Northants.), 289; Italy,
291; Stanwick (Yorks.), 288; Switzer-
land, 291; Yorkshire, 288
- Charles, Count of Angoulême, 544
- Chartres (France), sculpture at, 384
- Chatham, Lord, funeral effigy of, 569
- Chedworth (Glouc.), Roman voussoir tiles found
at, 444
- Chellaston (Derby), alabaster tombs made at,
28
- Chelsea, Council of, 391, 398
- Chertsey Abbey (Surrey), burial of Henry VI.
in, 537
- Chesters (Northumb.), stone jamb in Roman
baths at, 441
- Chichele, Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, tomb
of, 414
- Chinon (France), death of Henry II. at, 523
- Chippenham (Wilts.), 94; manor of, 493
- Chippestable, Richard de, vicar of Thorverton
(Devon), 409
- Christ in judgment, sculptures of, on medieval
portals, 379-383; on the Angel choir at
Lincoln, 388

- Christian, King of Denmark, visit of, to Westminster Abbey in 1606, 566
- Christie, Mrs. A. H., repairs mitre of William of Wykeham, 492
- Christina, Queen, bible of, 7
- Church and Synagogue, on sculpture at Lincoln Minster, 383-386; other examples, 387
- Church Shot, 395
- Churchstaunton (Devon), consolidation of the benefice of, 409
- Cilurnum, *see* Chesters (Northumb.)
- Cirencester (Glouc.), 94
- Ciry-Salsogne (France), interment and objects found at, 284
- Clairvaux Abbey (France), 509
- Clare, Gilbert of, Earl of Gloucester, 34; Elenor of, 34
- Clare (Suff.), 95
- Clarendon, constitutions of, 407
- Clarke, Somers, description of Westminster Palace by, 139
- Clarkson, Robert, mercer, accounts of, 562
- Cleeve Abbey (Somerset), 499
- Clenchwarton (Norf.), 100, 101
- Clerical life in the fifteenth century, as illustrated by proceedings of the court of chancery, C. TRICE MARTIN, B.A., F.S.A., on, 353; bequests to parish churches, 369, 370; parishioner avenging himself for parson's plain speaking, 360; parsons accused of abusing confession, 361-363, of wrongful deeds, 356-360; parson making provision for old age, 378; quarrels between parsons and parish, 363-369; use of witchcraft, 371-377
- Cleves, Anne of, Queen of Henry VIII., burial of, 547
- Coffins, stone, found at Stanley Abbey (Wilts.), 507
- Coggeshall, chronicle of, 99; account of the loss of King John's baggage train in, 98, 106, 107
- Coins: Byzantine, gold, found in Cyprus, 2, 11, 12, 21, of Marcia and Pulcheria, 4, 5, of Coins—*continued*.
Theodosius II., 4, 21; English, of Edward I., found at St. Davids (Wales), 491, of Elizabeth, found at Stanley Abbey (Wilts.), 516; Greek, found at Denia (Spain), 89; Roman, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 112, 114, 120, 122, 125-127, 129, 453, 456, 458, 460, Cerro de los Santos (Spain), 75, Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 343, 349, London, 183, 237, Mitcham (Surrey), 58
- Colchester (Essex), interment with bronze mirror found at, 295
- Coll, Agnes and John, 358, 359
- Collar, iron, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 122, 126
- Colombes (France), death of Queen Henrietta Maria at, 547
- Colte, John, accounts of, for making a funeral effigy, 553; Maximilian, accounts of, for making funeral effigies, 556, 557, 558
- Combs, bone, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 336, 339, 345, London, 205, 245, Mitcham (Surrey), 55; ivory, found in London, 205, 245
- Compton Basset (Wilts.), chancery proceedings concerning, 378
- Constans II. gold coins of, found in Cyprus, 11, 21
- Constantine the Great, coin of, 75
- Constantine IV., gold coin of, found in Cyprus, 11
- Constantius II., coin of, found at Mitcham (Surrey), 58
- Conyng, Robert, parson of Grayingham (Lincs.), 365, 366
- Cooksey, Mr., particulars of a portion of the Roman wall of London given by, 193, 194
- Coral, used as an inlay, in the Early Iron Age, 269, 270, 276, 277, 297, 298, 299
- Corfe Castle (Dorset), visit of King John to, 94
- Corsham House (Wilts.), 495
- Couldson (Surrey), Saxon remains found near, 49

- Coventry (Warw.), chancery proceedings concerning, 377
- Cowlam (Yorks.), cemetery of the Early Iron Age found at, 256, 262; bronze bracelets and brooches from, 256, 262, 267, 302; glass beads from, 256, 262, 296; pottery from, 264
- Craddock, Thomas, and Walker, Neil, opinion of, on the loss of King John's baggage train, 103
- Craigie (Scotland), interment and bronze brooch found at, 270
- Creke, John de, brass of, 28
- Cressy, Roger of, 95
- Cromwell, Thomas, 501
- Crook, Henry, 494, 514
- Crosiers and crosier heads: of Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, 466; gilt-latten, found at St. Davids (Wales), 466, description of, 488-491; silver-gilt and enamelled, of William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, 465, 467
- Cross, pectoral, gold, found in Cyprus, 2, 3
- Crowland Abbey (Lincs.), 96; sculpture at, 384, 386
- Croxton Abbey (Lincs.), burial of the viscera of King John in, 525
- Croxton, abbot of, 97, 99, 525
- Croydon (Surrey), Saxon remains found at, 49
- Crystal objects: beads, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 335, 338, 340, 341, 346
- Culvert, Roman, found in London, 235
- Cust, Lionel H., 517
- Cyprus, bronze objects found in, 23; a second silver treasure from, O. M. DALTON, M.A., F.S.A., on, 1
- D.
- D'Abernoun, John, brass to, 27, 28
- DALTON, ORMONDE M., M.A., F.S.A., on a second silver treasure from Cyprus, 1; on a set of table-knives in the British Museum made for John the Intrepid, Duke of Burgundy, 423
- Dance, George, architect, 200, 201
- Dancourt, Sire de, grand master of artillery to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, table knife with enamelled handle made for, 424
- Danes Graves (Yorks.), a cemetery of the Early Iron Age, 254, 258, 259, 260; animal remains from, 258, 265, 277, 304; bronze objects from, 258, 262, 266, 267, 268, 271, 272, 278, 300, 305; bronze and coral object from, 269, 270; chalk object from, 262, 266, 272, 302; chariot burials in, 262, 276, 277, 278; glass objects from, 262, 272, 300; human remains from, 258, 260, 277, 300, 304-307, 313-324; iron and iron bronzed objects from, 262, 266, 268, 269, 271, 277, 278, 300, 304, 305; jet object from, 258, 262, 272; pottery from, 258, 259, 263, 264, 272, 273
- Dart, J., account of the funeral effigies in Westminster Abbey by, 565
- David, King, scenes from the life of, on silver dishes found in Cyprus, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10; other examples, 5, 7, 8, 10, 20
- Deacons, origin and duties of, 393
- Decreete, John. serjeant painter, 557, 558
- Deer's horn object found at Arras (Yorks.), 283
- Delft ware, found in London, 243
- Denia (Spain), bronze brooch and silver coins found at, 89
- Denmark, Anne of, Queen of James I., burial of, 547; funeral effigy of, and accounts for making, 555, 556, 564
- Derwitts, John, 556
- Despeñaperros (Spain), pre-Roman bronze votive offerings from, HORACE SANDERS, F.S.A., on, 69; pottery and objects found at, 85

Despensers, Edward 1e, effigy of, 35, figure of, formerly on the Hastings brass, 33, 35; Hugh 1e, tomb of, 35; Hugh 1e, the elder, Earl of Winchester, 32, 34; Hugh 1e, the younger, 34; Isabel 1e, 32
 Dethick, Sir William, Garter, accounts of, for funeral of Mary, Queen of Scots, 548
 Devizes (Wilts.), 94; castle of, 495
 Diceto, Ralph de, account of the burial of Henry, eldest son of Henry II. by, 524
 Dijon (France), Burgundian table-knives with enamelled handles in the museum at, 425; knives made at, 425
 Dillon, Viscount, 517, 559, 570
 Disc, bronze, found at Arras (Yorks.), 283; gold, found in Cyprus, 2, 3
 Dishes, silver, found in Cyprus, 2, 3, 7, 8, stamps on, 3, 8, 13; in the National Library, Paris, 6; in the Stroganoff collection, 6
 Dorchester (Dorset), skeleton wearing torc found at, 276
 Dover (Kent), death of King Stephen at, 523; siege of the castle of, 94, 98
 Downing, Abraham, skinner, accounts of, 563
 Drains, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 112, 113, 122, 125, 126, 127, 452, 456, 457; London, 210, 221
 Dress fastener, iron, found at Danes Graves (Yorks.), 269
 Drogo, chamberlain to the Empress Maud, founder of Stanley Abbey, 493
 Drownfont, *see* Stanley Abbey (Wilts.)
 DUCKWORTH, W. L. H., M.D., Sc.D., on the crania and bones found in a Saxon cemetery at Mitcham (Surrey), 49, 60
 Durham, arrangement of almeries for relics in the monastic church of, 413, 417

E.

Earrings, gold, found in Cyprus, 3, 11
 Eastry, Henry of, prior of Christchurch, 42
 Ecclesiastical persons or parsons, 405

Ecuyers Tranchants, duties of, 423, 428, 429
 Edgar, King, laws of, relating to tithes, 398
 Edington, William of, bishop of Winchester, will of, extracts from, 472
 Edmund, King, law of, relating to tithes, 398
 Edward the Confessor, King of England, death and burial of, 518; vision of, 131, 132
 Edward I., King of England, coin of, found at St. Davids, 491; death and burial of, 528, 564; tomb of, 529
 Edward II., King of England, death and burial of, 530, 564; funeral effigy of, 564
 Edward III., King of England, death and burial of, 531; figure of, on the Hastings brass, 31, 32; funeral effigy of, 504, 549
 Edward IV., King of England, death and burial of, 538
 Edward V., King of England, death of, 539
 Edward VI., King of England, death and burial of, 542
 Effigies, funeral, of the kings and queens of England, with special reference to those in the Abbey Church of Westminster: W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., on, 517; the Westminster tradition of identification, note on, by the VERY REV. JOSEPH ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Westminster, 517, 565; of Bohemia, Anne of, Queen of Richard II., 549, 564; Buckinghamshire, Duke and Duchess of, 569; Chatham, Lord, 569; Denmark, Anne of, Queen of James I., 555, 564, accounts for making, 556; Edward II., 564; Edward III., 548, 549, 564; Elizabeth, Queen, 553, 564, accounts for making, 554, repair of, 554, 565, 569; Henry VII., 551, 564; James I., 557, 564, accounts for making, 557; Mary I., Queen, 552, 564; Monck, George, Duke of Albemarle, 559, accounts for making, 560; Nelson, Lord, 569; Richmond, Duchess of, 569; Stuart, Henry, Prince of Wales, 554, 564, 568, accounts for making, 555, Stuart, Ludovic, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, 569;

Effigies—continued.

- Valois, Katherine of, Queen of Henry V., 549, 564; York, Elizabeth of, Queen of Henry VII., 550, 564, account for making, 550; repair of, in 1606, 507
- Effigies, monumental, at Abergavenny (Wales), 34; Alvechurch (Worc.), 30; Brunswick, 32; Fontevraud (France), 523, 524, 543; Ingham (Norf.), 28; Leckhampton (Glouc.), 30; L'Espan (France), 543; Lowick (Northants.), 28; Malvern (Worc.), 36; Paris, Dominican Friary and St. Denis, formerly in, 27; Tewkesbury (Glouc.), 35; Warkworth (Northants.), 28, 30; Warwick, 28; Winchelsea (Sussex), 27; Worcester, 525
- Elche (Spain), bust of a female, the "Dame d'Elche," found at, 82
- Eleanor, Queen of Henry II., effigy of, 543
- Eleanor Crosses, 472
- Elfreda, Princess, 388
- Elizabeth, Queen of England, coin of, found at Stanley Abbey (Wilts.), 516; funeral effigy of, 553, 564, accounts for making, 554, repair of, 554, 565, 569
- Elsing (Norfolk), brass of Sir Hugh Hastings at, ALBERT HARTSHORNE, F.S.A., on, 25; with a note by W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., 38; glass decoration used in, 40, 41, 42
- Enamelled objects: bit, found at Rise (Yorks.), 281; crosier, of William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, 465, 467; knives, table, made for Sire de Dancourt, 424, John the Intrepid, Duke of Burgundy, O. M. DALTON, M.A., F.S.A., on, 423, Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, 424, 425, Rollin, chancellor to Philip the Good, 424; sword handle fittings found at Thorpe (Yorks.), 258; tablets on mitre of William of Wykeham, 475
- England, kings and queens of, funeral effigies of, 517
- Ensham, canons of, relating to tithes, 399
- Esquire carvers, duties of, 423, 428, 429
- Essex, cemeteries of the Early Iron Age in, 252
- Etheldred, King, law of, relating to tithes, 399
- Etheldreda, figure of, at Lincoln, 388
- Ethelwulf, King, laws of, relating to tithes, 398
- Eudoxia, Empress, 4
- Ewers or jugs, bronze, found in Cyprus, 23
- Eynon, John, 375
- Eynsford (Kent), chancery proceedings concerning a vicar of, 358

F.

- Faversham (Kent), burial of King Stephen at, 523
- Fereby, Thomas, goldsmith, 371, 372
- Fibula, *see* Brooch
- File, iron, found in London, 245
- Fish bones, found in London, 216
- Fitzralph, —, brass to, 28
- Flawford (Notts.), alabaster figure of the Virgin found at, 31
- Florence, The Bargello, Burgundian table-knives with enamelled handles in the Carrand Collection at, 424, 430; leather knife sheath at, 428
- Foliot, Sir John, 32; Margery, 32
- Fontevraud (France), burial of the heart of Henry III. at, 528; effigies of Queens Eleanor and Isabel at, 543, of Henry II., 523, of Richard I., 524
- Fonteyn, Nicholas, chancery proceedings by, 362, 363
- Fork, iron, found in London, 246
- Fountains Abbey (Yorks.), 499, 504
- Fox, Richard, bishop of Winchester, crosier of, 466
- France, Isabel of, Queen of Edward II., death and burial of, 544; Queen of Richard II., burial of, 544; Margaret of, Queen of Edward I., death and burial of, 544

France, bronze and coral brooches found in, 297 ;
 chariot burials found in, 291, 292, 299
 Frescoes, at Bawit (Egypt), 18
 Freshfield, Edwin, description of masons' marks
 on Westminster Palace by, 139

G.

Gabriel, the Archangel, figure of, on a jewel, 484
 Gardiner, F. J., opinion of, on the loss of King
 John's baggage train, 103
 Garrard, Elizabeth, 359, 360 ; William, draper,
 359, 360
 Garson, Dr., 51
 Gaunt, John of, 33
 Geneva, votive shield of Valentinian at, 6, 21
 George, Saint, on the Hastings brass, 31, 41
 Gervase, bishop of St. Davids, 488
 Gibson, Richard, accounts of, for making a
 funeral effigy, 550, 551
 Gifford family, effigy of a member of, 30
 Girdle hangers, iron, found at Ipswich (Suff.),
 329, 332, 337, 338, 339, 343, 344, 345, 346,
 349, 351, 352
 Girdle pendant, bronze, found at Ipswich (Suff.),
 345
 Glanville, Gilbert of, bishop of Rochester, tomb
 of, 414
 Glass decoration, used in the brass to Sir Hugh
 Hastings, 40, 41, 42
 Glass objects: beads, found at Arras (Yorks.),
 262, 276, 296, 300, Cowlam (Yorks.), 256,
 262, 296, Danes Graves (Yorks.), 262, 272,
 300, Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 335, 338-350,
 352, Mitcham (Surrey), 53, 54, 55, 58 ;
 vessels, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 127,
 455, 462, Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 336, 338,
 345, London, 205, 244, 245, Mitcham
 (Surrey), 52, 54, Silchester (Hants), 163
 Glass, painted, at Anderlecht (Belgium), 427
 Gloucester, Earls of, *see* Audeley, Hugh ; Clare,
 Gilbert of

Gloucester, 94 ; arrangement of almeries for
 relics in the monastic church of, 414, 415,
 416, 417 ; burial of Edward II. at, 530
 Gloves, silk, of William of Wykeham, bishop of
 Winchester, 465 ; description of, 474
 Goat, skeleton of, found in burial of the Early
 Iron Age, 304
 Gold objects: beads, found in Cyprus, 2 ; brace-
 lets, found in Cyprus, 3 ; chain, found in
 Cyprus, 11, Silchester (Hants.), 163 ;
 cross, pectoral, found in Cyprus, 2, 3 ;
 discs, found in Cyprus, 2, 3 ; earrings,
 found in Cyprus, 3, 11 ; jewel, with the
 Annunciation, 484 ; medallions, found in
 Cyprus, 2, 3 ; necklace, found in Cyprus,
 2, 3 ; pendants in the form of amphoræ,
 found in Cyprus, 3 ; rings, finger, found at
 Arras (Yorks.), 262, 276, 299, Somme
 Bionne (France), 299, episcopal, found at
 St. Davids (Wales), 466, 489, 491, of
 William of Wykeham, bishop of Win-
 chester, 465, 482
 Gower, Henry of, bishop of St. Davids, grave of,
 492
 Graignamanagh (Ireland), abbey of, 494
 Grawnge, John, 358
 Gray, Walter, archbishop of York, constitutions
 of, 400
 Grayingham (Lincs.), chancery proceedings by
 the parishioners of, 365, 366
 Green, Ralph, effigy of, 28 ; Valentine, account
 of the opening of King John's tomb by,
 525
 Greene, Abraham, serjeant plumber, 556
 GREENWELL, REV. WILLIAM, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.,
 on Early Iron Age burials in Yorkshire,
 251
 Greenwich (Kent), death of Edward VI. at, 542
 Grenakyr, Mary, 376
 Grey, John de, Lord Grey of Wilton, 37 ; Roger,
 Lord Grey of Ruthin, figure of, on the
 Hastings brass, 25, 32, 36, 41
 Grimsby (Lincs.), 96

Grimston, North (Yorks.), cemetery of the Early Iron Age at, 258; animal remains from, 258; bronze object from, 258; iron objects from, 258, 262; jet object from, 258
 Grimthorpe (Yorks.), interment of the Early Iron Age found at, 256, 312; bone pins from, 258; bronze shield fittings from, 258, 282, 312; iron spear-head from, 258, 283, 312; iron sword in bronze sheath from, 258, 262, 282, 312
 Grover, J. W., account of some Roman walls found in London by, 223
 Guilden Morden (Cambs.), chancery proceedings concerning a vicar of, 361
 Guildford (Surrey), castle of, 136
 Guingamp (Brittany), superstition at, 90

H.

Hackbridge (Surrey), Saxon remains found at, 49
 Hackett, Margaret, 375
 Haddon, John, draper of Coventry, 377
 Hadley, Stephen, wooden funeral effigy made by, 532, 533, 549
 Halbert head, iron, found in London, 246
 Hall, Edward, account of the burial of Henry VI. by, 536; of Richard II., 533
 Halliday, Sir Leonard, lord mayor of London, 179
 Hamden Hill (Somerset), chariot burial found at, 290
 Hammersmith (Middsx.), bronze pin inlaid with coral found in the Thames at, 270
 Hampnett, West (Sussex), Roman voussoir tiles found in church of, 442
 Hanbury, Philip, milliner, accounts of, 563
 Handle, bronze, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 122
 Harby (Notts.), death of Queen Eleanor of Castile at, 543
 Harding, John, account of the burial of Richard II. by, 534
 Harold, King of England, death and burial of, 518
 Harold, son of King Canute, buried in Westminster Abbey, 131
 Hartlip (Kent), Roman remains found at, 215
 HARTSHORNE, ALBERT, F.S.A., on the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings in Elsing Church (Norfolk), 25
 Hartshorne (Derby), alabaster tombs made at, 28
 Hastang, Sir John, 36; Katherine, 36
 Hastings, Elizabeth, 37; Sir Hugh, brass of, ALBERT HARTSHORNE, F.S.A., on, with a note by W. H. St. JOHN HOPE, M.A., 38; John, 37; John, Baron Hastings, 32; Laurence, 37: Laurence, Earl of Pembroke, 32, effigy of, 34, figure of, formerly on the Hastings brass, 31, 33, 34
 HAVERFIELD, F., M.A., Hon. LL.D., F.S.A., on two marble sculptures and a Mithraic relief of the Roman period found in London, 43
 Hay, Robert de, grant by, 397
 Hazlebury, in Box parish, quarry at, 494, 513, 514
 Hearths or furnaces, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 123, 124, 126, 457, 460; Silchester (Hants.), 150, 151, 154, 158, 160
 Hedingham Castle (Essex), 95
 Hennegau-Holland, arms of, 426
 Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I., death and burial of, 547
 Henry, bishop of Bayeux, grant by, 397
 Henry, Earl of Anjou, 493
 Henry, eldest son of King Henry II., death and burial of, 523
 Henry the Lion, effigy of, 32
 Henry I., King of England, death and burial of, 521; grant by, 404
 Henry II., King of England, death, burial, and tomb of, 523; work of, at Westminster Palace, 143, 144, 145
 Henry III., King of England, coronation of, 93; death and burial of, 526; tomb of, 527

- Henry IV., King of England, death, burial, and tomb of, 535
- Henry V., King of England, death and burial of, 535
- Henry VI., King of England, death and burial of, 536
- Henry VII., King of England, death and burial of, 539; funeral effigy of, 551, 564
- Henry VIII., King of England, death and burial of, 540
- Henshaw, Benjamin, accounts of, for garments for a funeral effigy, 557
- Heraldry: arms of Burgundy, 426, Hennegau-Holland, 426, John the Intrepid, Duke of Burgundy, 426, on the Hastings brass, 29, 32, 34, 41, on a stone found in London, 237; badges of Burgundy, 424, 425, Isabel of Blois, 427, Valentine of Milan, Duchess of Orleans, 428; mottoes, of Isabel of Blois, 427, John the Intrepid, Duke of Burgundy, 426, Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, 424, 425, Valentine of Milan, Duchess of Orleans, 428
- Hereford, 94
- Hessleskew (Yorks.), burials of the Early Iron Age found at, 301
- Hidone, Richard de, rector of Meshaw (Devon), 409
- Higham, Richard, serjeant-at-law, 356
- Hikson, Sir John, vicar of Wisborough Green (Sussex), chancery proceedings by, 363
- Hilton, Roger, warden of the fraternity of Our Lady, 357
- Hoffmann, Paul, 202
- Hogshaw (Bucks.), chancery proceedings concerning a parson of, 362, 363
- Holbeach (Lines.), 100
- Holland, South (Lines.), reclaimed land in, 108
- Hollies, Sir William, lord mayor of London, 202
- Holmes, Sir Richard, 517
- Holond, John, chancery proceedings by, 377
- Holyrood Abbey (Scotland), sculptures at, 382
- Holyrood Palace (Scotland), 131
- Holy Spirit, Order of, motto of, 426
- Honorius III., Pope, 396
- Hook, double, iron, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 459
- Hoop for door post, iron, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 458
- HOPE, W. H. ST. JOHN, M.A., a note on some peculiarities of the Hastings brass, 38; on the loss of King John's baggage train in the Wellstream in 1216, 93; on excavations on the site of the Roman city at Silchester (Hants.), in 1905, 149, in 1906, 431; on the great almetry for relics of late in the abbey church of Selby, with notes on some other receptacles for relics, 411; on the episcopal ornaments of William of Wykeham and William of Waynfleet, sometime bishops of Winchester, and of certain bishops of St. Davids, 465; on the funeral effigies of the kings and queens of England, with special reference to those in the abbey church of Westminster, with a note on the Westminster tradition of identification by the VERY REV. JOSEPH ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Westminster, 517
- Hopton, Sir John, vicar of Southwold (Suff.), 370
- Hord, Joyce, semstress, accounts of, 562
- Horn, Sir John, priest, chancery proceedings by, 356; William, alderman of London, 356
- Hornes, Maximilian de, seigneur of Gaesbeek, portrait of, in painted glass, 427
- Horses' skeletons found with chariot burial at Arras (Yorks.), 280
- Howard, Katharine, Queen of Henry VIII., burial of, 547
- Howard, Samuel, mercer, accounts of, 562
- Howden, Roger of, account of the burial of Henry, eldest son of Henry II. by, 524
- Howden (Yorks.), sculpture at, 384
- Howley, William, archbishop of Canterbury, cenotaph of, 414
- Huberville, grant of the church revenues of, 397

Huggate-on-the-Wolds (Yorks.), supposed chariot burial found at, 288
 Hull, Dr., letter of, 275
 Human remains found at Arras (Yorks.), 279, 281, 284, 296, 301, 307; Caerwent (Mon.), 126, 130; Cambridge, Newnham, 268; Cowlam (Yorks.), 256; Danes Graves (Yorks.), 258, 260, 277, 300, 304-307, 313-324; Dorchester (Dorset), 276; Grimston, North (Yorks.), 258; Grimthorpe (Yorks.), 256; Hamden Hill (Somerset), 290; Hunsbury (Northants.), 289; Ipswich (Suff.), 325, 326, 327, 330, 337-352; London, 175, 176, 184, 185, 190, 210, 236, 237, 238; Mitcham (Surrey), 51-59, W. H. L. DUCKWORTH, M.D., Sc.D., on, 60; Silchester (Hants.), 159, 161, 164
 Hunmanby (Yorks.), chariot burial found near 311
 Hunsbury (Northants.), chariot burial found at, 289
 Huntingdon, Henry of, account of the burial of Henry I. by, 522; references to Westminster Palace by, 133
 Huntingfield, William of, 95
 Huntley, Alice and John, 373
 Hyfold, Richard, 363
 Hypocausts, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 453, 455-458; London, 235; Silchester (Hants.), 434, 435, 438, 439

I.

Images, bronze, found in Southern Spain, 83, 84, 85
 Incised slabs found at Stanley Abbey (Wilts.), 503
 Ingham, Sir Oliver, effigy of, 28
 Ingham (Norfolk), effigy at, 28
 Inscriptions: medieval, on almyer for relics at Winchester, 415, on heart casket of Richard I., 525; Roman, on a brick found at Caerwent (Mon.), 124, on a Mithraic

Inscriptions—*continued*.

relief found in London, 47, on wall plaster found at Caerwent (Mon.), 119, 128, 129
 Ipswich (Suffolk), Saxon cemetery found at, NINA FRANCES LAYARD, F.L.S., on, 325; amber objects from, 329, 335, 339, 341, 342, 343, 345, 346; animal remains from, 341, 344, 350; bone objects from, 329, 336, 339, 345; bronze objects from, 329, 332-350, 352, crystal objects from, 335, 338, 340, 341, 346; glass objects from, 329, 335, 336, 338-350, 352; human remains from, 325, 326, 327, 330, 337-352; iron objects from, 327, 329-332, 336-352; paste objects from, 335, 341, 342, 346; pottery from, 329, 330, 337, 339-342, 344-351; Roman coins from, 329, 343, 349; silver objects from, 329, 335, 339, 346
 Iron Age, Early, burials of the, in Yorkshire, REV. WILLIAM GREENWELL, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., on, 251
 Iron objects: arrow-head found in London, 246; axe-heads, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 330, London, 246; belt and pouch fittings, found at Mitcham (Surrey), 55; bits, found at Arras (Yorks.), 282, bronze coated, 281, 285, Beverley (Yorks.), 278, Danes Graves (Yorks.), bronze coated, 278, Hamden Hill (Somerset), 290, Hunmanby (Yorks.), bronze coated, 311, Hunbury (Northants.), bronze coated, 290, Ipswich (Suff.), 349, Rise (Yorks.), bronze coated and enamelled, 281, Stanwick (Yorks.), 288; bracelets, found at Arras (Yorks.), bronze coated, 298, 299, Danes Graves (Yorks.), 262, 269, 271; brooches, found at Arras (Yorks.), 270, Danes Graves (Yorks.), 266, 268, 269, 300, 304, Monifieth (Scotland), 270, Moredun (Scotland), 270, of the La Tène type, 267; bucket fittings, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 462, Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 342; buckles, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 331, 343, 345, 346, 347, 350, 351, 352,

Iron objects—*continued.*

Mitcham (Surrey), 52, 53, 55, 58, 59; chain, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 349, 352; collar, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 122, 126; dress fastener, found at Danes Graves (Yorks.), 269; file, found in London, 245; fork, found in London, 246; girdle hangers, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 332, 337, 338, 339, 343-346, 349, 351, 352; halbert head, found in London, 246; hook, double, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 459; hoop, for door post, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 458; keys, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 329, London, 187, Mitcham (Surrey), 55, Stanley Abbey (Wilts.), 516; knives, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 459, Ipswich (Suff.), 327, 330, 336, 338, 339-352, Mitcham (Surrey), 53, 54, 55, 57-60, Silchester (Hants.), 161; linch pins, found at Arras (Yorks.), 284, bronze coated, 280, Danes Graves (Yorks.), 277, Hunmanby (Yorks.), 311, Middleton (Yorks.), bronze coated, 288, Stanwick (Yorks.), bronze coated, 280, 288; nails, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 343, 344, 349, 352, Stanley Abbey (Wilts.), 516; mirrors, with bronze mounts, found at Arras (Yorks.), 276, 284, 286, 294; pins, found at Monifieth (Scotland), 270, Moredun (Scotland), 270; patten, found in London, 245; rings, found at Arras (Yorks.), 284, bronze coated, 280, 285, 286, Danes Graves (Yorks.), 277, 278, 305, bronze coated, 278, Grimston, North (Yorks.), 258, Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 331, 339, 341, 342, 345, 349, Mitcham (Surrey), 54, 55, 57, 59, Stanwick (Yorks.), 288; rings, finger, found at Silchester (Hants.), 166; rods, found at Mitcham (Surrey), 57; sceptre, found at Mitcham (Surrey), 55; shears, found in London, 205, 245; shield fittings, found at Arras (Yorks.), 281, Ipswich (Suff.), 327, 330, 331, 339-343, 345, 347, 349, 351, Mitcham (Surrey), 54, 58, 59;

Iron objects—*continued.*

spear-heads, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 125, Cerro de los Santos (Spain), 74, Grimthorpe (Yorks.), 258, 312, Ipswich (Suff.), 327, 329, 330, 338-352, Mitcham (Surrey), 53, 54, 57, 58, 59; staple, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 349, 352; strike-a-light, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 332, 339, 342, 349, 350, 351, Mitcham (Surrey), 53; swords, found at Mitcham (Surrey), 53, 55, 58, 59, Grimston, North (Yorks.), 258, 262, Grimthorpe (Yorks.), 258, 262, 282, 312, Stanwick (Yorks.), in bronze sheath, 288, Thorpe (Yorks.) with bronze enamelled handle, 258, 262; tweezers, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 343; wheels, chariot, found at Arras (Yorks.), 279, 280, 282, 284, Beverley (Yorks.), 278, Cawthorne Camps (Yorks.), 288, Danes Graves (Yorks.), 277, Hamden Hill (Somerset), 290, Hunmanby (Yorks.), 311, Hunsbury (Northants.), 289

Isabel, Queen of King John, effigy of, 543

Islington (Middsx.), Greek inscription once in, rediscovered in London, 44

Italy, chariot burial found in, 291

Ivory objects: book-cover, of the Princess Melisenda, 7, 18; caskets at Breschia, 18, in the Kircherian Museum at Rome, 5, 7, 18; combs, found in London, 205, 245

J.

James I., King of England, funeral effigy of, 557, 564; accounts for making, 557

Jasper, Stephen, payments to, 540

Jenkinson, William, verger of Westminster Abbey, 568

Jet objects: heads, found at Arras (Yorks.), 303, Hessleskew (Yorks.), 301; bracelets, found at Danes Graves (Yorks.), 258, 262, 272; object, found at Grimston, North (Yorks.), 258

- Jewel, of William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, 465, description of, 484
- Jewellery, gold, found in Cyprus, 2, 11; tin, found in London, 238
- John, monogram of, on silver dishes found in Cyprus, 15, 17; name of, on silver dishes found in Cyprus, 15, 16
- John, bishop of St. Davids, chancery proceedings by, 374
- John, the Intrepid, Duke of Burgundy, arms of, 426; knives, table, with enamelled handles made for, 423; marriage of, 426; motto of, 426
- John, King of England, death, burial, and tomb of, 525; loss of the baggage train of, in the Wellstream in 1216, W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., on, 93; movements of, in 1216, 94, 95, 96
- Jones, Herbert, F.S.A., account of excavations at the Tower of London by, 196, 239; account of a Roman bath found in London by, 218
- Jones, Thomas, silkman, accounts of, 561; William, accounts of, for garment for a funeral effigy, 554
- Joy, Henry and Richard, chancery proceedings by, 370; John, bequest of, 370
- Jugs or ewers, bronze, found in Cyprus, 23; pewter, found at Brislington (Somerset), 462, Caerwent (Mon.), 462
- Justin, Emperor, coins and medallions of, found in Cyprus, 2, 11
- Justin II. and Tiberius II., coin of, 11
- Justinian, Emperor, coins and medallions of, found in Cyprus, 2, 11; votive shield of, 6, 23
- Juvenal, vicar of Meshaw (Devon); 409
- K.
- Karavás (Cyprus), Byzantine silver plate and jewellery found at, 1
- Karslake, J. P. B., 168
- Keepe, Henry, account of the funeral effigies in Westminster Abbey, by, 565
- Kelsey, Richard, and Santle, William, description of the sewers of the city of London by, 177, 235
- Kendal, Thomas, opens barrows at Danes Graves (Yorks.), 258, 288
- Kennard, A. S., and Woodward, B. B., notes by, on the non-marine mollusca found in excavations in the city of London, 240
- Kerlech family, of Brittany, motto of, 426
- Kertch (Russia), votive shield of Justinian found at, 6, 23
- Keyley, James, payment to, 539
- Keys, bronze, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 329; iron, found at Ipswich, 329, London, 187, Mitcham (Surrey), 55, Stanley Abbey (Wilts.), 516
- Kilham (Yorks.), account of the Danes Graves in the parish register of, 254
- Kimmeridge shale objects: platter, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 125; trays, found at Silchester (Hants.), 163
- King's Cliffe (Northants.), 95
- King's Lynn (Norf.), 101; visit of King John to, 96, 97, 98, 100, 107
- Kirkstall Abbey (Yorks.), 499, 504, 512
- Knight, John, chaplain, chancery proceedings by, 373
- Knives, iron, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 459, Ipswich (Suff.), 327, 330, 336, 338-352, London, 245, Mitcham (Surrey), 53, 54, 55, 57-60, Silchester (Hants.), 161
- Knives, table, with enamelled handles, at British Museum, 423, 424, Dijon (France), museum at, 425, Florence, the Bargello, 424, 430, Le Mans (France), museum at, 425, 430, Paris, the Louvre, 425, Siena, Opera de Duomo, 430, Vienna, Imperial museum, 424, Wallace collection, 424; made at Dijon or Paris, 425; made for Dancourt Sire de, grandmaster of artillery to Philip the Good, 424, John the Intrepid, Duke of Burgundy, O. M. DALTON, M.A., F.S.A.

Knives—*continued.*

- on, 423, Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, 424, 425, Rollin, chancellor to Philip the Good, 424; use of, 428, 430
 Komitas, name of, on silver dishes found in Cyprus, 15, 16
 Kosmas, name of, on silver dishes found in Cyprus, 14, 16
 Krall, C., 465, 469, 470
 Kynvare, John, 361

L.

- Lamps, bronze, found in Cyprus, 23
 Lancaster, earls of, *see* Plantagenet Edmund; Henry
 Lance-heads, *see* Spear-heads
 Langley, A. A., account of portions of the Roman wall of London by, 195, 211
 Langley, King's (Herts.), burial of Richard II. at, 534
 Langres (France), hunting knives made at, 425
 Langtoft, Peter, canon of Bridlington, account of the burial of Edward I. by, 528
 Lansdowne, Marquess of, owner of Stanley Abbey, 495
 Laon (France), sculptures at, 380
 Larnaca, sanctuary at, 74
 La Tène type of brooch, 267
 Lateran Council, canons of, 405, 406, 407
 Latten, *see* Brass
 Laurence, Thomas, churchwarden of Upchurch (Kent), chancery proceedings by, 369
 LAYARD, NINA FRANCES, F.L.S., on a Saxon cemetery in Ipswich (Suff.), 325
 Leaden objects: panels, pierced, found at Stanley Abbey (Wilts.), 515; roundel, found in London, 233
 Leather objects: cases or sheaths for table knives, 423-425, 427, 428, 430; mitre cases of William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, 465, 481, 482; shoes, found at

Leather objects—*continued.*

- Caerwent (Mon.), 123, 127, 130, London, 206; shoes of William of Waynfleet, bishop of Winchester, 486, 487
 Leckhampton (Glouc.), effigy at, 30
 Lee, Master, parson of St. Bride's Fleet Street, 357; William, chancery proceedings by, 377
 Legio II., Augusta, stationed at Caerleon (Mon.), 47, 124
 Leicester, burial of Richard III. in the Grey Friars at, 539; castle of, 136
 Le Mans (France), Burgundian table-knives with enamelled handles in museum at, 425, 430; burial of Henry, eldest son of Henry II. at, 524
 L'Esplan (France), effigy of Queen Berengaria at, 543
 Lessay, abbey of, grant to, 397
 LETHABY, W. R., F.S.A., on the Palace of Westminster in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, 131; on sculptures in Lincoln Minster: the Judgment Porch and the Angel Choir, 379
 Le Topetet, Jaquot, cutler, 425
 Lewes Priory (Sussex), 501
 Lichfield Cathedral, sculptures on, 382, 387, 389
 Linch pins, iron, found at Arras (Yorks.), 284, bronze coated, 280; Danes Graves (Yorks.), 277; Hunmanby (Yorks.), 311; Middleton (Yorks.), bronze coated, 288; Stanwick (Yorks.), 280, 288
 Lincoln, 95, 96
 Lincoln Minster, burial of the bowels of Queen Eleanor of Castile in, 543; sculptures in, W. R. LETHABY, F.S.A., on, 379, the Judgment Porch, 379, the Angel Choir, 388
 Lion, bronze claw of, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 455; stone, found at Silchester (Hants.), 163
 Lions (France), death of Henry I. in the castle of, 521
 Lisarde, Nicholas, serjeant painter, 552
 Lloyd, David, 374

- Lockswell, in the manor of Chippenham (Wilts.), 493, 494
- London: animal remains found in, 175, 179, 190, 194, 202, 210, 216, 233, 237, 238, 245; bone objects found in, 205, 235, 245; brass objects found in, 205, 246; the city ditch, 196-199, 202, 203; churches of, All Hallows, 184, 196, 200, 201, Friars Minors, royal burials in, 543, 544, Friars Preachers, royal burials in, 543, St. Andrew's, Holborn, chancery proceedings concerning, 371, St. Bride's, Fleet Street, chancery proceedings concerning, 357, St. Margaret Pattens, chancery proceedings concerning, 368, St. Thomas the Apostle, chancery proceedings concerning, 356; glass objects and vessels found in, 205, 244, 245; human remains found in, 175, 176, 184, 185, 190, 210, 236, 237, 238; iron objects found in, 187, 205, 245, 246; ivory objects found in, 205; leaden objects found in, 233; leather objects found in, 206; London Bridge, 228; Moorfields, drainage of, 179, windmills on, 184, 185; Nuremberg tokens found in, 246; Petty France, 197-200; pottery, medieval and later, found in, 175, 190, 202, 204, 205, 207, 230, 242, 243; Roman, recent discoveries in connexion with, PHILIP NORMAN, TREASURER, and FRANCIS W. READER, on, 169, architectural remains, 237, bastion in New Broad Street, 214, bath, in Threadneedle Street, 218, in Cannon Street, 214, burials of the Roman period, 237, 238, coins, 183, 237, culverts and drains, 177, 186, 210, 221, 235, the ditch, 212, excavations in Cloak Lane and Copthall Avenue, 230, in the Tower, 239, foundations in Knight rider Street, 219, Cornhill, 223, Gracechurch Street, 224, Leadenhall Market, 219, hypocaust in Mincing Lane, 235, marble sculptures and a Mithraic relief found in Walbrook, F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., Hon. LL.D., F.S.A., on, 43, mortar, analyses of, 249, mosaic pavements, 224, 226, 235, 237, pile work, 179, 182, 190, 194, 195, 230, 231, 232, 235, 236, pottery, 175, 176, 187, 206, 209, 213, 217, 224, 230, 233, 235-238, remains found in making sewers, 235, shafts in Bishopsgate Street, 185, Blomfield Street, 183, London Wall, 169, site north of All Hallows Church, 196, wall of city at All Hallows, 207, St. Alphege, 169, Houndsditch, 187, Jewry Street, 191, wall plaster, 217; shells of non-marine mollusca found in excavations in the city, 240; stone with heraldic bearings found in, 237; tin jewellery found in, 238; tobacco pipes found in, 205; wood lined wells found in, 233
- Louis le Hutin, armour mentioned in the inventory of, 26
- Louis of France, invasion of England by, 94
- Louis, King of Jerusalem and Sicily and Count of Provence, order said to have been founded by, 426
- Louis XII., King of France, 548
- Louth (Lincs.), 96
- Lowes, Philip, 364
- Lowick (Northants.), effigy at, 28
- Lucas, Seymour, 517
- Lucasse, William, churchwarden of Pulloxhill (Beds.), chancery proceedings by, 369
- Ludgershall (Wilts.), 94
- Lutman, William, 363
- Lyell, A. H., 123, 130, 164, 463; report on the plant remains of the Roman period found in London, 216, found at Silchester (Hants.), 449
- Lynn, *see* King's Lynn
- Lyons, John, effigy of, 28, 30
- M.
- Macdonald, Ernest, 1; J. Allen, 110

- Mâcon, the second Council of, 394
 Madrid, votive shield of Theodosius at, 6
 Malet, William, 519
 Malleone, Savaric de, 96
 Malmesbury, William of, account of the burial of
 William II. by, 521; of Henry I., 522;
 references to Westminster Palace by, 131,
 133
 Malton, Robert of, clerk of the Pipe, 420
 Malvern (Worc.), effigy at, 36
 Manneton, John de, rector of St. Ives (Cornwall),
 409
 Marble objects: sculptures of the Roman period
 found in London, 43
 March, Earl of, *see* Mortimer, Roger
 Marche, Olivier de la, 428, 429, 430
 Marcian and Pulcheria, coin of, 4, 5
 Marlborough Castle (Wilts.), 94
 Marlston, John, vicar of Guilden Morden
 (Cambs.), chancery proceedings by, 361
 Marriage-service, the, in Roman art, 4; on coins,
 4, 5, 21; on a silver dish found in Cyprus,
 3, 4
 Marseilles (France), sarcophagi at, 18
 Marshall, G. T., 103; William, accounts of, for
 garments for a funeral effigy, 553
 Martel (France), death of Henry, eldest son of
 Henry II., at, 523
 MARTIN, C. TRICE, B.A., F.S.A., on clerical life in
 the fifteenth century as illustrated by
 proceedings of the court of chancery,
 353
 Martin, John, warden of the fraternity of Our
 Lady, 357
 Martyn, Richard, payments to, 537
 Mary I., Queen of England, funeral effigy of,
 552, 564; accounts for making, 552
 Mary, Queen of Scots, funeral of, 548
 Mátaró (Spain), bronze brooches found at, 89
 Maud, Empress, 493
 Maulbronn Abbey (Germany), 504
 Medallions, gold, found in Cyprus, 2, 3
 Meeth (Devon), consolidation of the benefice of,
 409
 Melisenda, Princess, ivory book-cover of, 7, 18
 Melrose Abbey (Scotland), 504
 Membiri, William de, parson of Meeth (Devon),
 409
 Mersina (Cilicia), treasure found at, 12
 Meshaw (Devon), consolidation of the benefice
 of, 409
 Micklethwaite, J. T., 518
 Middleton (Yorks.), supposed chariot burial
 found near, 288
 Milan, Valentine of, Duchess of Orleans, badge
 and motto of, 428
 Milan, St. Ambrose, scenes from the life of
 David on the doors of, 7, 8, 10, 18
 Milborn, William, chamberlain of London, 356
 Mirrors, bronze, found with burials, 294, 295;
 iron, with bronze mounts, found at Arras
 (Yorks.), 276, 284, 286, 294
 Mitcham (Surrey), excavations in a Saxon burial
 ground at, HAROLD F. BIDDER on; with
 notes on crania and bones by W. L. H.
 DUCKWORTH, M.D., Sc.D., 49
 Mithraic relief, Roman, found in London, 43
 Mitre, of William of Wykeham, bishop of Win-
 chester, 465; description of, 472; repair
 of, 492
 Mitre cases, leather, of William of Wykeham,
 bishop of Winchester, 465, 481; descrip-
 tion of, 482
 Monck, George, Duke of Albemarle, funeral
 effigy of, and accounts for making, 559
 Monifieth (Scotland), iron brooch and pin found
 at, 270
 Monstrelet, Enguerrand de, account of the burial
 of Henry V., by, 536
 Montacute, Elizabeth, 35; William, Earl of
 Salisbury, 35
 Montfort, Barbe de, portrait of, in painted glass,
 427
 Moredun (Scotland), interment and iron brooch
 and pin found at, 270
 Mortar, Roman, analyses of 249

- Mortimer, Agnes, 34; J. R., opens barrows at Danes Graves (Yorks.), 258, 259, problematical chariot burial recorded by, 288; Katherine, 34; Roger, Earl of March, 34
- Mosaic pavements: found at Caerwent (Mon.), 119, 128, 451, 456, 457, 459; London, 224, 226, 235, 237; Silchester (Hants.), 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 433, 434, 435, 436, 442
- Motealegre, Marquis of, 74
- Mounde, John, churchwarden of St. Margaret Pattens, 368
- Mountey, Thomas, payments to, 540
- Muschamp, Walter, parson of St. Margaret Pattens, London, chancery proceedings by, 368
- Musical instruments, represented on a crosier, 471
- Mylner, Walter, 363
- Newburgh, William of, account of the burial of Henry II. by, 523
- Newport, Andrew, 560, 561, 563
- Newton, E. T., 123, 126, 156, 159, 168, 216, 449, 460, 463; note on the human and animal remains found at Silchester, (Hants.), 164
- Newton (Lincs.), 100
- Norfolk, embankment of the Wash in, 108
- NORMAN, PHILIP, TREASURER, and READER, FRANCIS W., on recent discoveries in connexion with Roman London, 169
- Norrice, Richard, accounts of, for a funeral effigy, 555
- Northfolke, Sir Thomas, curate of St. Bride's, Fleet Street, chancery proceedings by, 357
- Norwich cathedral church, sculptures on, 382
- Nuremberg tokens, found in London, 246

N.

- Nails, iron, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 343, 344, 349, 352; Stanley Abbey (Wilts.), 516
- Napper, John, 363
- Navarre, Joan of, Queen of Henry IV., death and burial of, 545
- Nazianzus, Gregory of, the orations of, 7
- Necklace, gold, found in Cyprus, 2, 3; of beads and pearls with gold discs, found in Cyprus, 2
- Needles, brass, found in London, 246
- Neile, Dr., Dean of Westminster, payments to, for repair of funeral effigies, 567
- Nele, John, 360
- Nelson, Lord, funeral effigy of, 569
- Nene river, embanking of, 108; strata below, at Sutton bridge (Linc.), 110
- Neon, bishop of Ravenna, 18
- Netley Abbey (Hants.), 499
- Newark (Notts.), death of King John at, 98, 525

O.

- Oakham (Rutland), castle of, 136
- Oman, Professor, 104
- Orange (France), 47
- Orderic, account of the burial of William the Conqueror by, 520; of William II., 521; of Henry I., 522
- Orleans, Council of, 396
- Ornaments, silver, found in a grave at St. Davids, 491
- Osbarne, John, 369
- Otterbourne, Thomas of, account of the burial of Richard II. by, 533
- Our Lady, coronation of, on the Hastings brass, 31; figure of, on a crosier, 468, on a jewel, 484
- Our Lord, figure of, on a crosier, 467
- Ousefleet, Thomas of, wardrobe accounts of, relating to burial of Edward II., 530, 531
- Oxford, 94; Ashmolean museum, bronze bracelet formerly in, 258, 259, 262, 271; Corpus

Oxford—*continued*.

Christi College, crosier of bishop Fox preserved at, 466; New College, episcopal ornaments of William of Wykeham preserved at, 465; St. Mary Magdalen College, episcopal ornaments of William of Waynfleet preserved at, 466, 485

P.

Page, Roger, 377

Panels, lead, found at Stanley Abbey (Wilts.), 515

Paris, M. Louis, 426

Paris, Matthew, 99; account of the burial of Henry II. by, 523; of Henry, eldest son of Henry II., 524; account of the loss of King John's baggage train by, 98, 106

Paris: the Dominican Friary, effigies formerly in, 27; the Louvre, Burgundian table-knives with enamelled handles in, 425; Notre Dame, sculpture at, 379, 380, 385; psalters in libraries at, 7, 9, 19; table-knives with enamelled handles made at, 425; St. Denis, burial of Queen Henrietta Maria in, 548; effigies formerly in, 27; silver dish in National Library at, 6

Parisi, the, 254

Parkes, Daniel, accounts of, for wigs, etc., for a funeral effigy, 558

Parkin, Rev. Charles, account of the parish of Walpole by, 102, 103

Parnell, Sir John, parson of Hogshaw (Bucks.), 362, 363

Parr, Katherine, Queen of Henry VIII., burial of, 547

Parsons, Bartholomew, spurrier, accounts of, 563

Parsons and vicars, origin of, in England, 391

Parsons or ecclesiastical persons, 405

Paten, silver, found at St. Davids, 491

Patten, iron, found in London, 245

Paule, Sir William, parson of St. Andrew's, Holborn, chancery proceedings by, 371

Pearls, necklace of, with beads, found in Cyprus, 2

Pebmarsh (Essex), brass at, 28

Pembroke, Earl of, *see* Hastings, Laurence

Pendants: bronze and coral, found at Arras (Yorks.), 298; gold, in form of amphoræ, found in Cyprus, 3; silver, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 346; with monogram of Oliver and Isabel of Blois, 427

Pentateuch, the Ashburnham, 19

Perks, Sydney, 225

Perne, Thomas, 361

Pershore (Worc.), church shot of, 397

Peterborough, Benedict of, account of the burial of Henry II., by, 523; of Henry, eldest son of Henry II., 523

Peterborough Abbey, burial of Queen Katherine of Arragon in, 547

Pewter objects: disc, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 462; jugs, found at Brislington (Somerset), 462, Caerwent, 459, 462, analysis of, 460

Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, arms and badge of, 424, 425; knives, table, with enamelled handles made for, 424, 425; motto of, 424, 425

Philippa, Queen of Edward III., death and burial of, 544

Phocas, name of, on silver dishes found in Cyprus, 16, 17

Pick, stag's horn, found at Silchester (Hants.), 161

Pierson, Sir William, priest, chancery proceedings by, 358

Pig, bones of, found in graves of the Early Iron Age, 258, 265, 277, 279, 284, 304

Pinkney, George, embroiderer, accounts of, 561

Pin polishers, bone, found in London, 205, 245

Pins, bone, found at Grimthorpe (Yorks.), 258, London, 235; brass, found in London, 205, 246; bronze inlaid with coral, found at Danes Graves (Yorks.), 269, 270, Hammersmith (Middsx.), 270; iron, found at Monifieth (Scotland), 270, Morodun (Scotland), 270

- Pits, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 123, 124, 126, 127, 128, 456; Silchester (Hants.), 155, 163
- Pitt-Rivers, General, accounts of discoveries in Roman London by, 176, 177, 179, 182, 183, 234
- Plantagenet, Blanche, 33; Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, glass decoration used in tomb of, 42; Henry, Earl of Lancaster, figure of, on the Hastings brass, 32, 41; Richard, Duke of York, death of, 539
- Plant remains of the Roman period, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 123, 130, 463; London, 216; Silchester (Hants.), 163, 164, 449
- Platter, Kimmeridge shale, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 125; pewter, disc of, found at Caerwent, 462
- Playford, John, vicar of Upchurch (Kent), chancery proceedings by, 369
- Plessis-Grimould, priory of St. Stephen at, grant to, 397
- Ploumanach (Brittany), superstition at, 90
- Plymouth (Devon.), interments with bronze mirror and other objects found at, 294, 299
- Poillei, William de, grant by, 404
- Pomeray, Joslin de, grant of, 404
- Pontefract Castle (Yorks.), death of Richard II. at, 533
- Porphyry, found at Silchester (Hants.), 155
- Portinari, Giovanni, letter of, 501
- Posts, wooden, and worked timber, found at Silchester (Hants.), 436, 437, 439, 445, 447, 449
- Pot hooks, *see* girdle hangers
- Pottery: medieval and later, found in London, 175, 190, 202, 204, 205, 207, 230, 242, 243, Stanley Abbey (Wilts.), 514, watering pots, 427, 428; pre-Roman, found at Arras (Yorks.), 264, 276, Aylesford (Kent), 252, Cerro de los Santos (Spain), 74, Cowlam (Yorks.), 264, Danes Graves, (Yorks.), 258, 259, 263, 264, 272, 273, Despeñaperros (Spain), 85, St. Remy-sur-
- Pottery—*continued*.
- Bussy (France), 252, 253; Roman, found at Bramley (Hants.), 168, Caerwent (Mon.), 120, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 130, 453, 455, 458, 459, 462, London, 175, 176, 187, 206, 209, 213, 217, 224, 230, 233, 235, 236, 237, 238, Silchester (Hants.), 156, 158, 160, 163, 164, 166, Samian used to make *tesserae*, 158; Saxon, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 330, 337, 339, 340, 341, 342, 344-351, Mitcham (Surrey), 52, 57, 59
- Pouch and belt fittings, iron, found at Mitcham (Surrey), 55
- Prescott, Kenneth, 223
- Price, J. E., accounts of discoveries in Roman London by, 183, 187, 217, 226, 229
- Provence, Eleanor of, Queen of Henry III., death and burial of, 543
- Psalters, illuminated, early date for, 18, scenes from the life of David in, 7, 8, 9, 17, 18, 20; the Utrecht, 19
- Pulloxhill (Beds.), chancery proceeding concerning the church of, 369
- Q.
- Quarr Abbey (Isle of Wight), 493, 494
- R.
- Ralph, abbot of Coggeshall, 98, 99
- Rame (Cornwall), consolidation of the benefice of, 409
- Ransom, W., F.S.A., marble sculptures and a Mithraic relief of the Roman period found in London in the collection of, 43
- Ravenser, Richard de, 544
- READER, FRANCIS W., and PHILIP NORMAN, TREASURER, on recent discoveries in connexion with Roman London, 169

- Reading (Berks.), burial of Henry I. in the abbey of, 522; visit of King John to, 94
- REICHEL, REV. OSWALD, J., M.A., B.C.L., F.S.A., on the Treasury of God and the Birthright of the Poor; or facts illustrating the origin of parsons and vicars in England, 391
- Reid, Clement, 105, 106, 123, 130, 168, 216, 449, 463; note on the plant remains found at Silchester (Hants.), 164
- Reimes, Bullen, 560, 561, 563
- René d' Anjou, tourney book of, 29
- Rheims (France), sarcophagi at, 18; sculptures at, 380
- Rice, R. Garraway, 168
- Richard, bishop of Coutances, grant by, 397
- Richard, Count, 523
- Richard I., King of England, death, burial, and effigies of, 524
- Richard II., King of England, death and burial of, 533; tomb of, 534; work of, at Westminster Palace, 132, 134, 136, 138, 141
- Richard III., King of England, death and burial of, 538; tomb of, 539
- Richmond, Duchess of, funeral effigy of, 569
- Richmond (Surrey), *see* Shene
- Rievaulx Abbey (Yorks.), 499, 504
- Ring necklace, silver, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 335, 339
- Rings, amber, found at Arras (Yorks.), 262, 276, 297; bronze, found at Arras, 298, 299, 301, 302, 303, Caerwent (Mon.), 126, Danes Graves (Yorks.), 278, Hamden Hill (Somerset), 290, Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 336, 338, 346, 352; iron, found at Arras (Yorks.), 284, bronze coated, 280, 285, 286, Danes Graves (Yorks.), 277, 278, 305, bronze coated, 278, Grimston, North (Yorks.), 258, Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 331, 339, 341, 342, 345, 349, Mitcham (Surrey), 54, 55, 57, 59, Stanwick (Yorks.), 288; twisted wire, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 337, 345, 349
- Rings, finger, bronze, found at Mitcham (Surrey), 52, 54, Plymouth (Devon), 299; gold, found at Arras (Yorks.), 262, 276, 299, Somme Bionne (France), 299, episcopal, found at St. Davids (Wales), 466, 489, 491, of William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, 465, 482; iron, found at Silchester (Hants.), 166; tin, found in London, 238
- Rise (Yorks.), bronze enamelled bit found at, 281
- Roberd, Sir Richard, priest, chancery proceedings by, 360
- Robert, abbot of Stanley, 514
- Robert, vicar of Rame (Cornwall), 409
- Roberts, Edward, 105
- ROBINSON, VERY REV. JOSEPH ARMITAGE, D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Westminster, note on the Westminster tradition of identification of the funeral effigies of the kings and queens of England, 517, 565
- Roche Abbey (Yorks.), 499
- Rochester (Kent), arrangement of almeries for relics in the monastic church of, 414; fireplace in the castle of, 143; sculpture in the cathedral church of, 384, 385
- Rockingham Castle (Northants.), 95
- Rods, bronze, found at Mitcham (Surrey), 55, 57; iron, found at Mitcham, 57
- Roe, Sir Thomas, lord mayor of London, 198
- Rokewode, Gage, 142; engraving of a portion of Westminster Palace by, 138, 139, 143, 144, 146
- Rollin, chancellor of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, table-knife with enamelled handle made for, 424
- Roman remains at or from, Appleshaw (Hants.), 462; Bath (Somerset), 444; Bramley (Hants.), 167; Brislington (Somerset), 462; Caerwent (Mon.), 111, 451; Chedworth (Glouc.), 444; Chesters (Northumb.), 441; Hampnett, West (Sussex), 442; Hartlip (Kent), 215; London, 43, 169; Silchester (Hants.), 149, 431; Whitcombe (Glouc.), 441; Wroxeter (Salop), 441, 444

- Rome, the Kircherian Museum, ivory casket in, 5, 7, 18; the Vatican, bible of Queen Christina in, 7, the Joshua rotulus in, 19
- Ross, A., letter from, on the old road across the Wash, 109
- Rotherham, Thomas, archbishop of York, chancellorship of, 353
- Rothewell, John, 361
- Rouen (France), burial of Henry, eldest son of Henry II. at, 524; death of William the Conqueror at, 520; effigy and heart coffer of Richard I. found at, 535
- Roundel, leaden, found in London, 233
- Russel, John, 369
- Rutlish, William, embroiderer, accounts of, 561
- S.
- St. Alban's Abbey (Herts.), arrangement of almeries for relics in, 418, 420; sculpture in, 384
- St. Amand, Almaric, Lord St. Amand, figure of, on the Hastings brass, 37, 41; John, Lord St. Amand, 37
- St. Andrew, figure of, on a crosier, 469
- St. Bartholomew, figure of, on a crosier, 469
- St. David's (Wales), chancery proceedings concerning, 374; the episcopal ornaments of certain bishops of, W. H. St. JOHN HOPE, M.A., on, 465, description of, 488
- St. Denis (France), painted glass at, 387; sculpture at, 379
- St. Ethelbert, King of East Anglia, figure of, at Lincoln, 388
- St. Ive (Cornwall), consolidation of the benefice of, 409
- St. James the Greater, figure of, on a crosier, 468
- St. James the Lesser, figure of, on a crosier, 469
- St. James of Compostella (Spain), sculpture at, 379, 380, 384
- St. John Baptist, figure of, on a crosier, 468, 469, 470, 471
- St. John the Evangelist, figure of, on a crosier, 468, 469
- St. Katherine, figure of, on a crosier, 468
- St. Keverne (Cornwall), interments with bronze mirror and other objects found at, 294
- St. Mary du Val, monastery of, grant to, 404
- St. Matthew, figure of, on a crosier, 469
- St. Merryn (Cornwall), consolidation of the benefice of, 409
- St. Omer (France), grant of land in, 404
- St. Oswald, 525
- St. Pancras, monastery of, grant to, 404
- St. Paul, figure of, on a crosier, 468
- St. Peter, figure of, on a crosier, 468
- St. Petersburg, treasure from Mersina (Cilicia) in the Hermitage at, 12; votive shield of Justinian at, 6
- St. Remy-sur-Bussy (France), interment found at, and pottery from, 252, 253
- St. Simon, figure of, on a crosier, 469
- St. Sperabill, 370
- St. Wulstan, 525
- Salisbury, Earl of, *see* Montacute, William
- Salley Abbey (Yorks.), 499
- Sandals, of William of Waynfleet, bishop of Winchester, 466, 486; description of, 487
- SANDARS, HORACE, F.S.A., on pre-Roman bronze votive offerings from Despeñaperros (Spain), 69
- Santle, William, and Kelsey, Richard, description of the sewers of the city of London by, 177, 235
- Sarcophagi, early, at Marseilles and Rheims, 18
- Sarum, Old, castle of, 94
- Saviròn, Sr, report of, on the temple at Cerro de los Santos (Spain), 74
- Saxon remains: at or from Coulsdon (Surrey), 49; Croydon (Surrey), 49; Hackbridge (Surrey), 49; Ipswich (Suff.), 325; Mitcham (Surrey), 49
- Sceptre, iron, found at Mitcham (Surrey), 55

- Scholastikos, name of, on silver dishes found in Cyprus, 15, 16
- Scorborough (Yorks.), cemetery of the Early Iron Age at, 256
- Scott-Gatty, Sir Alfred, Garter, 570
- Sculptures, marble, of the Roman period, found in London, 43
- Seamer (Yorks.), supposed chariot burial found at, 288
- Séez, grant to the church of St. Martin at, 404
- Selby (Yorks.), the great alms-house for relics of late in the abbey church of, W. H. St. JOHN HOPE, M.A., on, 411; description of, 420; destruction of, 411, 412
- Sens (France), sculptures at, 383
- Sergius, Saint, on a silver dish, 23
- Seymour, Jane, Queen of Henry VIII., death and burial of, 547
- Sharpe, Lieut. P. H., R.E., photographs of Stonehenge as seen from a war balloon by, 571
- Shears, iron, found in London, 205, 245
- Sheaths or cases, leather, for table-knives, 423, 424, 425, 427, 428, 430
- Shells, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 455, 458, 460-464; of non-marine mollusca found in excavations in London, 240
- Shene (Surrey), death of Anne of Bohemia, Queen of Richard II., at, 544; death of Edward III., at, 531; death of Henry VII. at, 539
- Sherborne (Dorset), 94
- Shield bosses and fittings: bronze, found at Arras (Yorks.), 281, 282, Grimthorpe (Yorks.), 258, 312, Hunmanby (Yorks.), 312; iron, found at Arras (Yorks.), 281, Ipswich (Suff.), 327, 330, 331, 339-43, 345, 347, 349, 351, Mitcham (Surrey), 54, 58, 59
- Shields, votive, silver, of Justinian, 6, 23; of Theodosius, 6, 21; of Valentinian, 6, 21
- Shoebury (Essex), cemetery of the Early Iron Age at, 252
- Shoes, leather, found in London, 206; of William of Waynfleet, bishop of Winchester, 486, 487
- Shrewsbury (Salop), 94
- Shudde, Richard, 363
- Siena, set of knives in the Opera del Duomo at, 430
- Silchester (Hants.), excavations on the site of the Roman city at, W. H. St. JOHN HOPE, M.A., on, in 1905, 149; in 1906, 431; altar, winged, from, 163; animal remains from, 156, 165, 448, 449; architectural remains from, 151, 158, 161, 163; bird bones from, 167, 449; block plan of portions excavated up to 1905, 168, to 1906, 450; chalk object from, 163; clay figure of Venus from, 163; drains at, 154, 155; dyeing houses at, 150; fish bones from, 167; glass vessels from, 163; gold chain from, 163; hearths or furnaces at, 150, 151, 154, 158, 160; human remains from, 159, 161, 164; hypocausts at, 156, 434, 435, 438, 439; inn at, 152; *Insula V.*, buildings in, 149; *Insula VI.*, buildings in, 154; *Insula XXXIV.*, buildings in, 432; iron objects from, 161, 166; Kimmeridge shale objects from, 163; latrine at, 153; mosaic pavements at, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 433, 434, 435, 436, 442; pits at, 155, 163; plant remains from, 163, 164, 449; pottery from, 156, 158, 160, 163, 164, 166; porphyry from, 155; road to Winchester found at Bramley near, 167; Samian pottery used to make *tesserae* at, 158; stag's horn pick from, 161; stone lion from, 163; stone threshold at, 440; tiles, voussoir, from, 442, white, from, 436; vaulted chamber at, 440, 442, 444; wall plaster from, 154, 442; wells, wooden lined, at, 160, 161; woodwork at, 158, 160, 161, 436, 437, 439, 445, 446, 447, 449
- Silvanus, Ulpius, inscription of, 47
- Silver objects: chalices, found at St. Davids (Wales), 466, 489, 491; crosier, enamelled, of William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, 465, 467; dishes, found in Cyprus, 2, 3, 7, 8, 13, in the National Library,

Silver objects—*continued*.

- Paris, 6, in the Stroganoff collection, 6;
necklace, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 339;
ornaments, found in a grave at St. Davids
(Wales), 491; paten, found at St. Davids,
491; pendants, found at Ipswich (Suff.),
329, 346; treasure, found in Cyprus, 1;
shields, votive, of Justinian, 6, 23, of
Theodosius, 6, 21, of Valentinian, 6, 21
- Sinigaglia coat of mail, the, 26
- Sisinnios, name of, on silver dishes found in
Cyprus, 15, 16
- Situla, *see* Bucket
- Skates, bone, found in London, 205, 245
- Skinner's Company, garden of, 230
- Sleaford (Lincs.), 97, 98
- Smirke, Sir R., and S., restoration of the great
hall of Westminster Palace by, 134, 136,
137, 138, 140, 141
- Smith, C. Roach, accounts of discoveries in
Roman London by, 171, 176, 178, 180, 183,
196, 226, 228, 229
- Smith, J. C. Challenor, 168, 433, 447; note on
the discovery of one of the Roman roads
leading from Silchester, 167
- Smith, J. T., illustrations of the Roman wall of
London by, 169; views of Westminster
Palace by, 138, 139, 143, 144
- Smyrna, Greek inscription from, found in Lon-
don, 44
- Soane, Sir John, drawings of Westminster
Palace by, 138
- Somme-Bionne (France), chariot burial and gold
ring found at 299
- Southrop (Glouc.), found at, 387
- Southwark (Surrey), chancery proceedings con-
cerning, 373
- Southwold (Suff.), chancery proceedings con-
cerning the church of, 370
- Spain, Southern, bronze images found in, 83, 84, 85
- Spalding (Lincs.), 96, 107
- Spear-heads, iron, found at Caerwent (Mon.)
125; Cerro de los Santos (Spain), 74;
Grimthorpe (Yorks.), 258, 312; Ipswich

Spear-heads—*continued*.

- (Suff.), 327, 329, 330, 338-352; Mitcham
(Surrey), 53, 54, 57, 58, 59
- Sphinx, bronze, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 126
- Spindle whorls, chalk, found at Arras (Yorks.),
262, 276, 302, Danes Graves (Yorks.),
262, 272, 302; pottery, found at Ipswich
(Suff.), 329, 344
- Spoon, tinned, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 458
- Squirt, brass, found in London, 205, 246
- Stafford, Edmund, Lord Stafford, 35; Ralph,
Lord Stafford, figure of, on the Hastings
brass, 31, 33, 35, 41
- Stag's horn objects: pick, found at Silchester
(Hants.), 161
- Stamford (Lincs.), 95, 96
- Stamps, on silver dishes found in Cyprus, 3, 8, 13
- Stanley (Wilts.), the Cistercian Abbey of, HAROLD
BRAKSPEAR, F.S.A., on, 493; the building
materials, 513; the cellarer's building,
512; the chapter-house, 506; the church,
499; the cloister, 506; the dorter, 510;
the frater, 511; the infirmary, 513; the
kitchen, 511; the novices' lodging, 508;
objects found, 514; the parlour, 508; the
precinct, 496; the reredorter, 510; the
vestry, 506; the warming house, 510
- Stanwick (Yorks.), chariot burial found at, 288;
iron linch pins from, 280; iron sword in
bronze sheath from, 288
- Staple, iron, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 349, 352
- Starkey, Mrs., owner of Stanley Abbey, 495
- Statues and statuettes, bronze and stone, found
at Cerro de los Santos (Spain), 72, 74-81
- Stephen, King of England, death and burial of
523; grant by, 404
- Stephen, the king's painter, 137
- Stigand, archbishop, 518
- Stillingfleet, Rev. E. W., accounts of opening
barrows at Arras (Yorks.) by, 255, 260,
264, 265, 268, 275, 279, 280, 281, 282,
283, 294, 295, 298, 299, 300, 301, 303,
305, 306
- Stone, Sir Benjamin, 517, 570

- Stonehenge (Wilts.), photographs of, as seen from a war balloon, 571
- Stone objects: almeries, in Gloucester cathedral church, 415, 416, 417, Winchester cathedral church, 414, 415; altars, Roman, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 117, Silchester (Hants.), winged, 163; heraldic, found in London, 238; lion, found at Silchester (Hants.), 163; Mithraic relief, found in London, 43, 46; statues, found in Spain, 72, 74-82; threshold stones, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 452, 455, 456, 461, Silchester (Hants.), 440; votive, found in Spain, 474
- Stork, John, citizen and grocer of London, 356
- Strasbourg (Germany), sculpture at, 384
- Stratfieldsaye House (Hants.), mosaic pavements at, 433
- Strike-a-light or briquet, a badge of Burgundy, 424, 425
- Strike-a-lights, iron, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 332, 339, 342, 349, 350, 351; Mitcham (Surrey), 53
- Stroganoff collection, silver dish in, 6
- Stuart, Esme, 569; Henry, Prince of Wales, funeral effigy of, 548, 554, 564, 568, accounts for making, 555; Ludovic, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, funeral effigy of, 569; Lady Mary, Countess of Arran, 569
- Sturminster (Dorset), 94
- Sudeley Castle (Glouc.), burial of Queen Katherine Parr at, 547
- Surgical instruments, found in London, 205
- Sutton, Long (Lincs.), 100, 101, 103, 108, 109; strata below the river Nene at, 110
- Swanton, Thomas, 361
- Swineshead Abbey (Lincs.), 96, 97, 98, 100
- Switzerland, chariot burials found in, 291
- Swords, iron, found at Grimston, North (Yorks.), 258, 262; Grimthorpe (Yorks.), in bronze sheath, 258, 262, 312; Mitcham (Surrey), 53, 55, 58, 59; Stanwick (Yorks.), in bronze sheath, 288; Thorpe (Yorks.), with enamelled bronze handle, 258, 262
- Synagogue and Church, on sculpture at Lincoln Minster, 383-386; other examples, 387
- T.
- Tablets, enamelled, on mitre of William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, 475
- Tailler, Richard, churchwarden of Pulloxhill (Beds.), chancery proceedings by, 369
- Tanglost verch Glin', chancery proceedings against, 374, 375
- Tanks, wooden, found at Silchester (Hants.), 158, 446, 447
- Tarentesia, Peter de, parson of St. Merryn (Cornwall), 409
- Taylor, Leo, analyses of Roman mortar by, 249
- Teign Canon (Devon), manor of, 405
- Terrington St. Clement (Norf.), 100, 101
- Tesserae for mosaic floor made of Samian pottery, found at Silchester (Hants.), 158
- Tewkesbury (Glouc.), tombs of the Despensers at, 35
- Theocharistos, name of, on silver dishes found in Cyprus, 16
- Theodoros, monogram of, on silver dishes found in Cyprus, 14, 17; name of, on silver dishes found in Cyprus, 15, 16
- Theodosius, votive shield of, 6, 21
- Theodosius II., coins and medallions of, found in Cyprus, 2, 4, 12, 21
- Thornton, Lancelott, 560, 561, 563
- Thorpe, near Rudstone (Yorks.), iron sword with enamelled bronze handle fittings found at, 258, 262
- Thorverton (Devon.), consolidation of the benefice of, 409
- Threshold stones, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 452, 455, 456, 461; Silchester (Hants.), 440
- Thynne, Lord John, sub-dean of Westminster, 569

- Tiberius, Maurice, Emperor, coins and medallions of, found in Cyprus, 2, 11
- Tiles, paving, found at Stanley Abbey (Wilts.), 499, 503, 504, 506-510, 513, 514; roofing, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 117; voussoir, found at Bath (Somerset), 444, Caerwent (Mon.), 117, Chedworth (Glouc.), 444, Hampnett, West (Sussex), 442, Silchester (Hants.), 442, Wroxeter (Salop), 444; white, found at Silchester (Hants.), 436
- Tin jewellery, found in London, 238
- Tintern Abbey (Mon.), 499
- Tite, Sir William, accounts of discoveries in Roman London by, 171, 176, 180, 181, 183, 195, 199, 203, 226, 227, 229, 230
- Tithes, the birthright of the poor, 401; distinction between the chaplain's interest, called the church, and the tithes or birthright of the poor, 403; legal obligation to, 398; purposes for which different kinds were allotted, 402
- Tobacco pipes, found in London, 205
- Tokens, Nuremberg, found in London, 246
- Toledo (Spain), superstition at, 90
- Tonbridge (Kent), Greek inscription found at, 44
- Torc, bronze, found at Arras (Yorks.), 275; Hessleskew (Yorks.), 301
- Townesend, Thomas, 560, 561, 563
- Trays, Kimmeridge shale, found at Silchester (Hants.), 163
- Treasury of God and Birthright of the Poor; or facts illustrating the origin of parsons and vicars in England, REV. OSWALD J. REICHEL, M.A., B.C.L., F.S.A., on, 391
- Treves (Germany), sculptures at, 380
- Trotton (Sussex), brass at, 42
- Trough, wooden, found at Silchester (Hants.), 161, 446
- Tub or butt, wooden, found at Silchester (Hants.), 445
- Tubeing, bronze, found at Arras (Yorks.), 283; Danes Graves (Yorks.), 262, 272, 300; Grimston, North (Yorks.), 258
- Tudor, Arthur, son of Henry VII., burial of, 548; Edmund, son of Henry VII., burial of, 548; Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VII., burial of, 548; Henry, son of Henry VIII., burial of, 548; Mary Duchess of Suffolk, funeral effigy made for, 548; Owen, 545
- Tumbler, glass, found at Mitcham (Surrey), 52, 54
- Turke, William, churchwarden of Wadhurst (Sussex), chancery proceedings by, 367
- Tutbury (Staffs.), alabaster tombs made at, 28
- Tweedie, Rev. A. G., vicar of Selby, 421
- Tweezers, bronze, found at Arras (Yorks.), 298, 299; iron, found at Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 343
- Tydd, St. Mary (Lincs.), 100
- Tyndale, Sir William, chancery proceedings by, 376
- U.
- Upchurch (Kent), chancery proceedings concerning the church of, 369
- Upottery (Devon), grant of tithe in, 405
- V.
- Valence, Aymer de, tomb of, 32; Isabel de, 37
- Valentinian, votive shield of, 6, 21
- Valentinian III., Emperor, 4
- Valois, Katherine of, Queen of Henry V., death and burial of, 545; funeral effigy of, 549, 564
- Vanderdort, Abraham, accounts of, for a funeral effigy, 555
- Vaughan, Sir John, 375
- Venice, psalter in the library of St. Mark at, 7, 8, 19
- Venta Silurum, *see* Caerwent (Mon.)

- Venus, clay statuettes of, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 121; Silchester (Hants.) 163; other examples of, 122
- Vessels, glass, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 127; Ipswich (Suff.), 329, 336, 338, 345, London, 205, 244, 245, Mitcham (Surrey), 52, 54, Silchester (Hants.), 163; pewter, found at Appleshaw (Hants.), 462, Brislington (Somerset), 462, Caerwent (Mon.), 459, 462
- Vicars and parsons, origin of, in England, 391
- Vienna, Burgundian table-knives with enamelled handles in the Imperial museum at, 424
- Virgin, the, alabaster figure of, found at Flawford (Notts.), 31; coronation of, sculpture of, on medieval portals, 379; enthroned with Infant Christ, sculpture of, on medieval portals, 379, on the Angel Choir at Lincoln, 389
- Virgins, the Wise and Foolish, on sculpture at Lincoln Minster, 382
- Vitry-le-François (France), interment found at, 252
- Votive offerings, bronze, found at Cerro de los Santos (Spain), 74, pre-Roman, found at Despeñaperros (Spain), HORACE SANDARS, F.S.A., on, 69; stone, found at Cerro de los Santos (Spain), 74
- Vousoir tiles, found at Bath (Somerset), 444; Caerwent (Mon.), 117; Chedworth (Glouc.), 444; Hampnett, West (Sussex), 442; Silchester (Hants.), 442; Wroxeter (Salop), 444
- W.
- Wadhurst (Sussex), chancery proceedings concerning the church of, 367
- Walden, Richard of, sacrist of Rochester, 414
- Wales, Marches of, 94
- Walker, Sir Edward, Garter, 560
- Walker, Neil, and Craddock, Thomas, opinion of, on the loss of King John's baggage train, 103
- Wallace Collection, Burgundian table-knives with enamelled handles in, 424
- Wallingford (Berks.), 94
- Wall paintings, in the great hall of Westminster Palace, 137
- Wall plaster, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 121, 452, 453, 455, 456, 457, 459, inscribed, 119, 128, 129; London, 217; Silchester (Hants.), 154, 442
- Walpole St. Andrew (Norf.), 100, 103
- Walpole St. Peter (Norf.), 100, 101, 103
- Walsingham, Thomas of, account of the burial of Henry V. by, 535
- Walters, Allan B., 219
- Waltham (Herts.), Eleanor cross at, 472
- Waltham Abbey (Essex), reputed burial of King Harold in, 519
- Walton, Francis, goldsmith, accounts of, 560
- Walton, West (Norf.), 100
- Wantone, Sir John, brass to, 26, 31
- Wareham (Dorset), 94
- Warham, William, archbishop of Canterbury, chancellorship of, 353
- Warkworth, John, account of the burial of Henry VI. by, 536
- Warkworth (Northants.), effigy at, 28, 30
- Warrington, Francis, shoemaker, accounts of, 563
- Warwick, Anne of, Queen of Richard III., death and burial of, 545
- Warwick, earls of, *see* Beauchamp, Thomas; William
- Warwick, tomb of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick at, 28, 34
- Wash, the, notices of, in later writers, 101, 102, 103; tides in, in October, 1216, 105, 106
- Watering-pot, used as a badge, 427, 428
- Wauton, William, 360, 361
- Waynfleet, William of, bishop of Winchester, the episcopal ornaments of, W. H. St

Waynfleet—continued.

- JOHN HOPE, M.A., on, 465; buskins sandals, and shoes of, 486, 487; loss of a portion of, 485; will of, 485
- Wells (Somerset), 94; sculpture in the cathedral church of, 388, 389, in the hall of the vicars choral at, 31
- Wells, stone lined, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 122, 129, 462; wooden lined, found in London, 233, Silchester (Hants.), 160, 161
- Wellstream, the, loss of King John's baggage train in, in 1216, W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., on, 93
- Wendover, Roger of, 99; account of King John's burial by, 525; account of the loss of King John's baggage train by, 97, 107
- Wensley (Yorks.), almy and money box in church of, 413
- Wesley, W. H., 105
- Westminster, Dean of, *see* Robinson, Joseph Armitage
- Westminster Abbey, arrangement for almeries for relics in, 418; burials in, of Bohemia, Anne of, Queen of Richard II., 544; Castile, Eleanor of, Queen of Edward I., 543, Cleves, Anne of, Queen of Henry VIII., 547, Edward I., 528, Edward V. and his brother, supposed bones of, 539, Edward VI., 542, Harold, son of King Canute, 131, Henry III., 526, Henry V. 535, Henry VII., 539, Mary, Queen of Scots, 548, Philippa, Queen of Edward III., 544, Richard II., 534, Valois, Katherine of, Queen of Henry V., 545, Warwick, Anne of, Queen of Richard III., 545; death of Henry IV. in the Jerusalem Chamber in, 535; funeral effigies of the kings and queens of England in, W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., on, 517; with a note on the tradition of identification by the VERY REV. JOSEPH ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Westminster, 517, 565; repair of the funeral effigies in 1606, 567;

Westminster abbey—continued.

- sculptures in, 380, 387, 388, 389; tombs in, of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, 42, Edward I., 529, Henry III., 527, Richard II., 534, Valence, Aymer de, 32; visit of King Christian of Denmark to, 566
- Westminster, Palace of, death of Edward IV. in, 538; death of Henry VIII., in, 540; in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, W. R. LETHABY, F.S.A., on, 131; the Saxon or old Palace, 131; the new Palace, 132; the great hall, interior, 134, exterior, 137; the little hall, 142; St. Stephen's chapel, 142; the exchequer house, 146
- Wheatley, A. J., 202
- Wheels, chariot, iron, found at Arras (Yorks.), 279, 280, 282, 284; Beverley (Yorks.), 278; Cawthorne Camps (Yorks.), 288; Danes Graves (Yorks.), 277; Hamden Hill (Somerset), 290; Hunmanby (Yorks.), 311; Hunsbury (Northants.), 289
- Whip fittings, bronze, found at Arras (Yorks.), 285
- Whitchurch (Salop), 94
- Whitcombe (Glouc.), Roman remains found at, 441
- White, William, 378
- Widvile, Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV., death and burial of, 545
- Wilfeld, John, vicar of Aylesford (Kent), chancery proceedings by, 360
- William I., King of England, death and burial of, 520
- William II., King of England, death, burial, and tomb of, 521; work of, at Westminster Palace, 132, 133
- Wilton (Wilts.), 94
- Wimbish (Essex), brass at, 26
- Winchelsea (Sussex), effgy at, 27
- Winchester, Earl of, *see* Despenser, Hugh le, the elder
- Winchester (Hants.), 94; castle of, 136; cathedral church of, 137, arrangement of almeries for relics in, 414, 415, tomb of bishop Henry of Blois in, 521

- Windsor Castle, siege of, 94, 95; St. George's Chapel, burials in, of Edward IV., 538, Henry VIII., 541, Seymour, Jane, Queen of Henry VIII., 547, Widvile, Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV., 545
- Wing (Bucks.), chancery proceedings concerning a yeoman of, 362
- Wire, brass, found in London, 205
- Wisbech (Cambs.), 97, 100, 101, 103, 107
- Wisborough Green (Sussex), chancery proceedings concerning a vicar of, 363
- Witchcraft, use of, in the fifteenth century, 371-377
- Withiel, John de, vicar of St. Merryn (Cornwall), 409
- Wode, Sir Robert, priest, 357
- Woodbridge (Suff.), chancery proceedings concerning, 377
- Wooden objects: almeries for relics, at St. Albans Abbey (Herts.), 418, 420, Selby (Yorks.), 411, 412, 420, 421, Wensley (Yorks.), 413; buckets, found at Caerwent (Mon.), 130, 462; funeral effigies of kings and queens of England, 549, 550-552, 554, 555, 557, 564; woodwork, found at Silchester (Hants.), 158, 160, 161, 427, 436, 437, 439, 445-447, 449
- Woodward, B. B., and Kennard, A. S., notes by, on the non-marine mollusca found in excavations in the city of London, 240
- Worcester cathedral church, burial and tomb of King John in, 525; paintings in the chapter-house of, 384
- Worwood, Joseph, armourer, accounts of, 560
- Woven fabric found at Caerwent (Mon.), 460
- Wreke, Joan, John, and Thomas, 369, 370
- Wright, Thomas J., 570
- Wright, William, M.B., D.Sc., F.R.C.S., note on the human remains found in the Danes Graves (Yorks.), by, 313
- Wriothesley, Thomas, directions for the funeral of Queen Katherine of Arragon by, 546
- Wroxeter (Salop), Roman baths at, 441, use of voussoir tiles in, 444
- Wulnoth, abbot of Westminster, 131
- Wykeham, William of, bishop of Winchester, the episcopal ornaments of, W. H. St. John Hope, M.A., on, 465; crosier of, 467; gloves of, 483; jewel of, 484; mitre of, 472, 492; mitre cases of, 481, 482; rings of, 482; will of, extract from, 466
- Wykes, Thomas, canon of Oseney, account of the burial of Henry III. by, 526
- Wyle, William of, bishop of Salisbury, 494
- Wylie, W. H., account of the burial of Henry IV. by, 535
- Wyriott, Thomas, 374, 375

Y.

- York, Elizabeth of, Queen of Henry VII., death and burial of, 545; funeral effigy of, 550, 564, accounts for making, 550
- York, Council of, 403, 407
- York Minster, painting in the chapter-house of, 385, 386; sculpture in the chapter-house of, 31
- Yorkshire, chariot burials in, 288; Early Iron Age burials in, Rev. William Greenwell, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., on, 251
- Yorkshire Antiquarian Club, opens barrows at Danes Graves (Yorks.), 258, 265
- Yorkshire, East Riding Antiquarian Society, opens barrows at Danes Graves, 259
- Younger, Edward, cutler, accounts of, 561

